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AUTHOR	Sumner, Gerald; Zellman, Gail
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ABSTRACT

This report is one of three volumes that describe the second phase of a study that examined the implementation of four federal change agent programs related to education. Phase 2 of the study focused on what happens to local projects in the two largest change agent programs--ESEA Title III and ESEA Title VII--when federal funding stops. This particular volume discusses the complex process of establishing bilingual programs in local school districts, with particular attention to those aspects of the Title VII program and those political influences that affect local implementation. Data for this report were gathered through case studies conducted between April 1974 and May 1976 at 11 Title VII Spanish/English project sites, telephone and personal interviews in 1974 with personnel at 10 state education agencies, and interviews with federal Title VII personnel. (JG)

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FEDERAL PROGRAMS SUPPORTING EDUCATIONAL CHANGE, VOL. VI: IMPLEMENTING AND SUSTAINING TITLE VII BILINGUAL PROJECTS

PREPARED FOR THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

GERALD SUMNER, GAIL ZELLMAN

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PREFACE

The Rand Corporation is conducting, under the sponsorship of the U.S. Office of Education, a several-year, two-phase study of federally funded programs designed to introduce and spread innovative practices in public schools. These change agent programs normally offer temporary federal funding to school districts as "seed money." If an innovation is successful, it is assumed that the district will incorporate and spread part or all of the project using other sources of funds. The Rand study analyzes the effects these federal policies have had on local change processes.

The first phase of the research (July 1973 to July 1974) examines four federal change agent programs (Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title III, Innovative Projects; Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title VII, Bilingual Projects; Vocational Education Act, 1968 Amendments, Part D, Exemplary Programs; and the Right-To-Read Program) and addresses issues related to the initiation and implementation of these change agent projects. Specifically, this aspect of the study identifies what kinds of strategies and conditions tend to promote change in the school and which do not.

The final phase of the research (November 1974 to November 1976) examines what happens to local projects in the two largest change agent programs—ESEA Title III and ESEA Title VII—when federal funding stops. This phase focuses on the different forms that local incorporation or continuation may take and analyzes the institutional and project factors that promote or deter the sustaining and spreading of Title III and Title VII projects.

The study's findings are reported in eight volumes under the general title *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change* (R-1589-HEW). A series of five reports describes the results of the first phase of the research:

Volume I (R-1589/1-HEW, *A Model of Educational Change*) provides a theoretical perspective for the Rand study by analyzing the current state of knowledge of planned change in education and by proposing a conceptual model of factors affecting change processes within school districts.[1]

Volume II (R-1589/2-HEW, *Factors Affecting Change Agent Projects*) contains the analysis of survey data collected from a national sample of 293 projects in 18 states during November and December 1973.

Volume III (R-1589/3-HEW, *The Process of Change*) summarizes the findings and policy implications resulting from 29 case studies of change agent projects conducted by Rand staff members and consultants in 25 school districts during April and May 1974. These case studies were chosen from the original sample of 293 projects initially surveyed. Volume III also describes the role of state education agencies in selecting, managing, and disseminating the change agent projects.

Four technical appendixes to Vol. III describe in detail the federal program management approach, state education agency participation, and case studies for each of the programs in the study: Title III, App. A; Reading, App. B; Bilingual

[1] Because of Rand's interest in advancing knowledge of organizational behavior in educational institutions, the research underlying this report was supported in part by an allocation of Rand corporate research funds.

Education, App. C; and Career Education, App. D. Appendix A should be of particular interest to researchers or practitioners concerned with the introduction of new approaches to classroom instruction.

Volume IV (R-1589/4-HEW, *The Findings in Review*) summarizes the findings of Vols. I, II, and III, and also synthesizes extensive data collected by Rand on federal-level program strategy and management for each of the change agent programs. Volume IV also includes a discussion of alternative federal strategies for promoting innovation.

Volume V (R-1589/5-HEW, *Executive Summary*) summarizes the first phase of the research for a general audience.

The results of the final phase are reported in three volumes:

The present report, Vol. VI, discusses the complex process of establishing bilingual programs in local school districts, with particular attention given to those aspects of the Title VII program and to those political influences that affect local implementation. The fieldwork, viewpoint, and data interpretation build on the extensive empirical work done in the first phase of the study and reported in Vol. III, App. C (*Innovations in Bilingual Education*, R-1589/3-HEW).

Volume VII (R-1589/7-HEW, *Factors Affecting Implementation and Continuation*) presents an analysis of the survey data collected in 100 Title III projects in 20 states. This volume deals specifically with the questions of implementing, sustaining, and spreading part or all of special project strategies after federal support ends.

Volume VIII (R-1589/8-HEW, *Implementing and Sustaining Innovations*) summarizes the findings from both phases of the study and, drawing on these results, describes the process of change at the local level—initiating, implementing, sustaining, and spreading innovative projects. Volume VIII also includes a discussion of policy implications that derive from this study.

SUMMARY

BACKGROUND

Under the sponsorship of the U.S. Office of Education, Rand has been conducting a study of local implementation of four federally funded programs that were designed to introduce and spread innovative practices in public schools. These change agent programs normally offer temporary federal funding to school districts as "seed money." If an innovation is successful, we assume that the district will continue part or all of it, using some other source of funds, and that the innovation will be disseminated to other districts that are interested in replicating it. This volume reports findings for projects funded under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) Title VII, one of the programs included in the study.[1]

The study of Title VII implementation was conducted in two phases. The first phase examined the process of implementation and identified factors at local, state, and federal levels that affected implementation.[2] The results indicated that Title VII projects experienced a large number of implementation problems and were viewed by participants as relatively unsuccessful in achieving *their own* goals.

At the same time, Phase I findings indicated that Title VII projects were likely to be continued after the period of initial federal funding. One reason was that most Title VII projects anticipated receiving additional federal or state funding after the initial Title VII funding ended. A second reason was that Title VII projects helped to legitimate bilingual education and often fostered a constituency whose advocacy would be a force for continuation.

Phase II examined more explicitly the political context of bilingual education at the local level. The purposes of Phase II raised a number of questions that guided the research:

1. What strategies have project participants developed to deal with the implementation problems bilingual projects face? How have state legislation and the activities of other government agencies, including the courts and Title VII, affected existing implementation problems?
2. How have state legislation and the activities of other government agencies, including Title VII and the courts, affected the likelihood and form of continuation of bilingual education programs?
3. What is the stance of local political constituencies? What trends can be expected in support and opposition?
4. To what extent do political factors and issues influence the educational and innovative aspects of bilingual education programs?
5. What are the implications for federal bilingual policy?

[1] Other programs studied were ESEA Title III, Right-To-Read, and Vocational Education, 1968 Amendments, Part D.

[2] First-phase results are reported in Gerald C. Sumner et al., *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, Vol. III: The Process of Change: Appendix C, Innovations in Bilingual Education*, The Rand Corporation, R-1589/3-HEW (App. C), April 1975.

RESEARCH APPROACH

Phase II findings are primarily based on three data/information collection efforts:

1. Case studies conducted between April 1974 and May 1976 at eleven Title VII Spanish/English project sites.
2. Telephone and personal interviews with personnel at ten state education agencies early in 1974.
3. Interviews conducted early in the study with federal Title VII personnel.

These efforts were supplemented by literature reviews and interviews with prominent bilingual educators.

To enhance our understanding of the process of implementation of bilingual projects, we organized our efforts according to a scheme that premises four phases in the life of a bilingual project:[3]

- *Initiation:* when decisions are made whether to have a project, and if so, its level of funding, model and the population to be served.
- *Design:* when decisions are made about the educational and other design aspects of the project and an implementation strategy may be developed.
- *Operationalization:* when the project must adapt to the realities of its institutional setting and project plans must be translated into practice.
- *Continuation:* when the project achieves a stable funding state.

Political agendas (broadly defined) were characterized as having pervasive influence, especially in the initiation and continuation phases.

INITIATION PHASE

Major decisions are made during this phase that determine the basic character of a bilingual education project; such decisions have to do with whether there should be a bilingual project, placement of the project in the district hierarchy, who will constitute the target population, and selection of a project director. These decisions were found to be generally governed by administrative considerations (including organization, staffing, budget, and social priorities) rather than those that were purely educational. There is great potential for external political influence in this phase, but our findings indicate that most initiation decisions in the early years were based on the availability of Title VII funds and on priorities internal to district staffs. Community pressure for bilingual education was applied in a few reluctant districts, but this was unusual; target and nontarget constituencies were not organized or politicized at this point. In more recent years, constituency and outside agency pressures have caused initiation decisions to become more politicized and contentious, resulting in even less consideration of purely educational issues in this phase of the implementation process.

[3] This scheme draws heavily on a model developed in earlier change agent work. See Paul Berman and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, Vol. I: A Model of Educational Change*, The Rand Corporation, R-1589/1-HEW, September 1974.

DESIGN PHASE

In the design phase, more detailed planning is done, and educational aspects of the project are considered, often for the first time. During this phase, self-conscious implementation strategies may be developed.[4]

We found that project designs and delivery systems were generally educationally traditional except for use of two languages and some cross-cultural curriculum elements. This lack of innovation had multiple causes: (1) Bilingual programs tended to emanate from specific needs for which teaching in two languages seemed the clear (and often only necessary) response, and the extraordinariness of this response may have eclipsed the search for innovative delivery systems; (2) designers often lacked full curriculum bilingual education experience; and (3) some designers felt that many currently popular innovations (e.g., open classrooms) are inconsistent with the needs of bilingual target groups. A countervailing force in the direction of innovation was the meagerness of resources. For example, insufficient numbers of bilingual teachers led to team teaching in a number of projects.

Project designers generally were parochial in their approaches to the solution of design problems. For example, although Spanish-language materials were often not plentiful, local projects tended to underutilize commercial materials even when available. As project staffs have become more sophisticated and the amount and quality of materials have increased, commercial materials are being used more extensively.

Few projects developed self-conscious implementation strategies (such as ongoing participatory planning and frequent training based on practical classroom experience) to ease the process of project adaptation to the district setting.

OPERATIONALIZATION PHASE

When a project begins to be used in classrooms, the project design confronts the realities of the institutional setting. Projects often made major changes in scope or management during this phase; this was generally a response to the need to solve problems that were unanticipated or inadequately resolved during the design phase. Curriculum and model problems were not so immediately apparent; little classroom-level change occurred. Problem-solving responses were limited in some sites by lack of organizational slack. Projects stretched to their resource limits had few alternatives available for solving problems.

The influence of outside agencies, for example, state education agencies, also precipitated project change in the operationalization phase, often with highly disruptive effects.

[4] For a discussion of these implementation strategies, see the following volumes in the change agent series, *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change*: Paul Berman and Edward W. Pauly, ... *Vol. II: Factors Affecting Change Agent Projects*, The Rand Corporation, R-1589/2-HEW, April 1975; Peter W. Greenwood, Dale Mann, and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, ... *Vol. III: The Process of Change*, The Rand Corporation, R-1589/3-HEW, April 1975; and Paul Berman and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, ... *Vol. IV: The Findings in Review*, The Rand Corporation, R-1589/4-HEW, April 1975.

CONTINUATION PHASE

Most Title VII projects continued to receive external funds after the end of the federal funding period. Hence, continuation decisions in the sense of incorporation of the project into the regular district curriculum and budget had not been raised in most projects visited. The projects will face a number of issues if and when they address the question of local continuation: (1) The concept of bilingual education may be erroneously viewed as a failure because of implementation problems, or because of ineffective project design; (2) high recurring program costs may reduce support for bilingual education; and (3) nontarget constituency resistance may increase.

CONCLUSIONS

Context

We found four significant aspects of the local context of bilingual education that are important in understanding the difficulties of local implementation: (1) a high degree of political complexity, with many agencies and groups concerned with bilingual education; (2) pronounced traditionalism of bilingual education programs at the classroom level; (3) resource shortages, particularly in materials, trained staff, and models; and (4) large between-site differences in the level of politicization of target and nontarget constituencies, the relative number of students who are eligible for and included in bilingual programs, and the range of language skills that must be accommodated in project design.

Implications of the Findings for Federal Bilingual Policy

Title VII has had a very significant influence at the macro-level in shaping national bilingual education policy priorities, in arousing target constituencies, in stimulating a variety of sources of funding, and in developing a pool of bilingual education leaders. The effect at the micro-level has been weaker; there has been less success in developing and disseminating viable models of bilingual education, in developing a cadre of qualified bilingual teachers, and in overcoming apparent shortages in bilingual materials.

It is suggested that the Office of Bilingual Education (OBE) reevaluate its role to place greater emphasis on those areas where it has relative advantage, especially in view of the increasing involvement of other agencies in bilingual education. In particular, the OBE should continue its present thrust toward national capacity building, and should assume leadership in developing coordination among the state and federal agencies involved in bilingual education.

In its interaction with local bilingual projects, there are two areas to which the OBE should direct more effort. First, the OBE should seek to be more responsive to the varying needs of different projects—for example, by more flexible administration of policy. Second, the OBE should assist local bilingual projects in planning realistically for the modifications in project design and management that are generally required when Title VII funding is replaced by some other support.

A potentially more serious threat to the continuation of bilingual education, nationally as well as locally, is that disappointing outcomes from poorly implemented bilingual projects may taint the overall bilingual education concept, resulting in reduced support from policymakers at all levels. The OBE should strive to forestall this outcome by strengthening project implementation through the measures suggested above (capacity building, responsive policy, and coordination among the various agencies involved in bilingual education) and by supporting basic research on the linkages between affective and cognitive aspects of bilingual education.

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Perceptive review of preliminary drafts was provided by Phyllis Ellickson of Rand; by Ann Bezdek, who is currently project officer of this work for the U.S. Office of Education; by Henry Pascual of the New Mexico State Department of Education; and by José Vázquez of Hunter College and the National Institute of Education.

We are especially grateful for the hospitality of the school districts around the country that hosted our fieldwork, and for the candidness of federal, state, school, and community persons who shared their respective insights regarding bilingual education.

CONTENTS

PREFACE iii

SUMMARY v

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS xi

Section

I. INTRODUCTION 1
- Summary of Phase I Findings 2
- Questions Addressed in Phase II 3
- Study Design 4
- Contents of the Report 6

II. IMPLEMENTATION OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS 7
- Political Influences 7
- Phases of Implementation 8

III. THE INITIATION PHASE 11
- Political Context 11
- Decisionmaking in the Initiation Phase 12

IV. DESIGN AND OPERATIONALIZATION PHASES 22
- Decisionmaking in the Design Phase 22
- Decisionmaking in the Operationalization Phase 32

V. ISSUES AFFECTING CONTINUATION 36
- Specious Condemnation 36
- Program Cost 36
- Growing Politicization of Constituencies 37
- Faulty Incorporation Planning 38

VI. CONCLUSION 40
- Context of Bilingual Education 40
- Implications of the Findings for Federal Bilingual Policy 47

Appendix

POLITICAL INFLUENCES OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION 51

REFERENCES 57

I. INTRODUCTION

The Title VII bilingual education program was established by a 1968 revision of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. The legislation recognizes "the special educational needs of the large numbers of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States" and authorizes the establishment of programs to meet these needs. The program provides funds to local education agencies (LEAs) to design, develop, and implement approaches to bilingual education.

In 1974, the Title VII legislation was substantially amended (P.L. 93-380). It is important to understand the changes that took place at that time, because the bilingual projects we studied were initiated during the earlier period.

Like the other ESEA titles, the original Title VII legislation did not clearly articulate a guiding philosophy, specific objectives, or strategies for achieving these objectives. The law was vague concerning the substance of the envisioned educational programs and did not specify which "special educational needs" were to be served; there was no hint about what expected student outcomes should be. Because of this legislative ambiguity, the specific operational characteristics of the program had to be worked out within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW).

This search for specificity finally manifested itself in the 1974 amendments; the amendments essentially formalized the structure and priorities that had been evolving within HEW. The revision, among other things, created the Office of Bilingual Education (OBE) within the Office of Education (OE). It also abolished the income specification of the 1968 act. An array of activities was mandated in an attempt to reduce bilingual education resource shortages. A capacity-building policy was formulated that emphasizes teacher training, development of instructional approaches, and funding of state education agencies (SEAs).[1]

As with most comprehensive educational changes, the introduction of bilingual education has met severe implementation problems within many school districts. In view of these problems, the purpose of this study is to enhance understanding of the process of establishing bilingual programs in schools, with particular attention given to those aspects of Title VII that affect local-level implementation. Such a focus includes issues of materials availability, staff training, model development, overlapping bilingual concerns of local, state, and federal agencies, and specific Title VII guidelines that affect project design (e.g., parent advisory representation, and growth and funding policies). This study is only peripherally concerned, if at all, with such matters as internal management of the federal program office, the roles of the SEAs in providing bilingual education support services, the relative effectiveness (in terms of student outcomes) of different bilingual pedagogy, or procedures for identifying linguistic needs; these topics are addressed in depth in other completed or in-process research funded by HEW.[2]

[1] A more detailed discussion of Title VII program characteristics is provided in the Appendix.

[2] Development Associates completed a process evaluation of Title VII projects in 1974, and is currently engaged in a study of the roles of the SEAs in bilingual education. American Institutes for Research is engaged in an evaluation of educational outcomes of Title VII projects. The General Accounting Office published its overall evaluation of Title VII in 1976 (U.S. Comptroller General, *Bilingual Education: An Unmet Need*, Report to the Congress, Washington, D.C., May 1976).

A second purpose of this study, which flows from the first, is to draw implications from our observations for federal bilingual policy. In related earlier work,[3] Rand researchers determined that implementation (rather than the availability of educational technology) dominated the innovation process at the local level; an understanding of this process will allow us to draw implications for federal policy that take into account the variety and range of local settings through which the policy operates.

The study of Title VII implementation has been conducted in two phases. The first phase, during the 1973-74 school year, identified factors at local, state, and federal levels that affected implementation.[4] Although there was some examination of the effects of these factors on anticipated project continuation, there was no attempt to synthesize their interactive effects. Among the factors identified as important were social and political pressures and demands on the local school district for bilingual education. However, the first phase did not investigate this political context in detail. And it did not attempt to link political factors to what happens in the classroom. More generally, Phase I did not synthesize fieldwork observations to produce a systemic understanding of political effects on the process of change for bilingual innovations. Based on additional fieldwork, Phase II set out to present a broader view of bilingual education innovations that would include the political context and that would provide a basis for drawing policy implications.

SUMMARY OF PHASE I FINDINGS

The results of Phase I disclosed that the Title VII projects experienced a large number of implementation problems. Projects suffered shortages of materials, shortages of teachers qualified in bilingual instruction, and an absence of guidance in the form of instructional models. Respondents to the surveys from Phase I of the study reported relatively low levels of perceived success for Title VII projects in terms of their own goals.[5] This finding no doubt reflected the range and depth of implementation problems experienced by these projects; it also reflected the fact that the degree of change required for successful implementation of a bilingual project is large. Such projects require not only educational changes in the form of new materials and new instructional models, but also frequently dramatic changes in staffing patterns, pupil assignment practices, and views concerning the proper purpose and outcomes of public education.

At the same time, the Phase I findings indicated that Title VII projects enjoyed a high likelihood of continuation after the period of initial federal funding. Although apparently surprising in light of the implementation problems and low level of reported perceived success, the high incidence of continuation was a result of two external factors common to bilingual projects.

[3] Paul Berman and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, Vol. IV: The Findings in Review*, The Rand Corporation, R-1589/4-HEW, April 1975.

[4] First-phase results were reported in Gerald C. Sumner et al., *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, Vol. III: The Process of Change: Appendix C, Innovations in Bilingual Education*, The Rand Corporation, R-1589/3-HEW (App. C), April 1975.

[5] Respondents included superintendents, federal program managers, principals, and teachers. For the survey description and findings, see Paul Berman and Edward W. Pauly, *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, Vol. II: Factors Affecting Change Agent Projects*, The Rand Corporation, R-1589/2-HEW, April 1975.

First, the reported high likelihood of continuation was largely an artifact of the bilingual funding situation: Most Title VII projects expected to receive additional federal or state funding after the initial Title VII funding ended. Therefore, continuation in the sense of assurances of continued funding has been a moot point for most bilingual projects. Accordingly, the conventional continuation question—what happens politically and educationally after federal funding is terminated—has not been a pressing issue for most bilingual projects and thus will not be treated extensively in this report.

The second reason for high continuation despite implementation problems is a sociopolitical one. More than most educational innovations, bilingual education operates in a context that is charged with issues of the meaning of equality of educational opportunity, minority group isolation, and whether or not societal institutions (most particularly government and schools) are obligated to foster and preserve cultural heterogeneity.

Federal funding had the effect of legitimating bilingual education and helped to mobilize constituencies in many districts that demanded project continuation.

Phase I research suggested that whereas Title VII funding helped legitimate bilingual education at the national level, its effect at the local level was less consistent. Phase II examined the political context of bilingual education at the local level and the issues that surround it in detail.

QUESTIONS ADDRESSED IN PHASE II

The results of Phase I and the purposes of Phase II raised a number of questions that guided the Phase II research:

1. What implementation problems are bilingual projects facing? What are the trends for resource shortages found in Phase I? In particular, are materials, instructional models, and qualified staff more available? What strategies have project participants developed to deal with resource shortages or other implementation problems?
2. How have state legislation and the activities of other government agencies, including the courts and Title VII, affected existing implementation problems?
3. How likely and in what ways are bilingual education projects to be continued? How have state legislation and the activities of other government agencies, including Title VII and the courts, affected the likelihood and form of continuation of bilingual education programs?
4. What is the stance of local political constituencies? What trends can be expected in support and in opposition?
5. To what extent do political factors and issues influence the educational and innovative aspects of bilingual education programs?
6. How can we best synthesize our findings to reflect both the realities of implementation of educational innovations at the local level and the dominance of political influences that reportedly characterize bilingual innovation?
7. What are the implications for federal bilingual policy?

STUDY DESIGN

This report presents the results of the second generation of an exploratory study. The two phases are collectively an empirical study undertaken to explore a variety of conceptual and programmatic issues related to the design and implementation of bilingual education programs. In Phase I our efforts were directed to understanding important issues and factors in the implementation of bilingual education. In Phase II we were able to ask more focused questions about the strength, direction, and interaction of these factors. Together, the two phases probe the variety and implications of factors affecting the implementation of Title VII funded projects; the empirical and theoretical aspects of the research were iterative and interactive.

To better serve these objectives, site and informant selection were opportunistic rather than statistically rigorous; therefore, the sample does not permit comment on the prevalence of various project characteristics. The sample does permit determination of the range, variety, and interaction of factors affecting implementation.

Although the study focuses on Title VII bilingual projects, the role and effects of Title VII are shaped importantly by the overall bilingual schooling movement. Accordingly, we refer frequently to the larger context in order to evaluate the Title VII experience sensibly. Most of the general observations in this report reflect the larger view, although the specific references are to instances involving Title VII, and, of course, the policy implications finally discussed are addressed to Title VII. The volume[6] reporting the first phase of this study includes additional discussions pertaining to the history of the Title VII program, the disposition of the SEAs toward Title VII, and specific experiences of some of the Title VII projects visited by our researchers

Sample Selection

Three information-gathering efforts contributed to the data base from which study findings and implications are drawn:

1. *Case Study Sites.* The richest information came from the sample of eleven Title VII project sites visited by Rand staff between April 1974 and May 1976. These sites were selected from the universe of Spanish/English bilingual projects that had received, at the time of selection, three or more years of Title VII funding. Selection was limited to one language group, so that cross-cultural influences across sites would have some commonality; Spanish-language projects were chosen because Spanish is the dominant language of Title VII bilingual projects—more than 85 percent of the instructional projects funded during the 1975-76 school year included Spanish as a target language.[7]

Because the study was to adapt an exploratory rather than a testing mode, site selection was not governed by a particular conceptual scheme. Rather, sites were judgmentally selected to maximize representation over a number of easily identifiable descriptive variables. Four sites were on the West Coast, one was in the Rocky Mountains, three were in the Southwest, one was in the Midwest, and two were in the East. Three projects were in large urban school districts, two were in suburbs,

[6] Sumner et al.

[7] The dominance of Spanish projects reflects the numerical dominance of Spanish speakers. Spanish is the second most commonly used language in the United States.

two were in small cities, three were in small towns, and one was rural; the rural project was essentially a collection of five projects (in separate school districts) under collective management. The level of Title VII funding varied from approximately $50,000 to over $200,000 per year. Grade levels served varied from kindergarten through 4th grade to kindergarten through 12th grade.

The resulting sample was diverse, as can be illustrated by noting the particular characteristics that set each project apart:

- One had been a major facilitating device for the district's desegregation effort.
- One served three separate non-English-language groups, including two Indian tribes.
- One had aggressively developed constituency support.
- One had a unique management plan that anticipated continuation as early as the initial proposal for Title VII funding.
- One was initiated by a group outside the official auspices of the school district; the same group was largely responsible for subsequent state bilingual legislation.
- One was enjoying the most obvious success at the classroom level, probably through aggressive implementation tactics.
- One had been the target of constituency group attacks and had a number of diverse political agendas.
- One was successful on its own terms, but was hard hit by reactionary backlash.
- One was noteworthy because of its imaginative use of funding, volunteer support, and pedagogy.
- One was expanding with local funding despite a very shallow tax base.
- One enjoyed a Parent Advisory Council (PAC) whose members numbered among the community's elite.

Site selection was facilitated by project descriptive information collected in a larger, more structured Rand survey of federally funded change agent projects.[8] This earlier survey sample was used as the sampling frame for eight of the eleven fieldwork sites. The three additional sites were chosen to represent characteristics not present in the earlier sample.

2. *SEA Interviews.* Telephone and personal interviews were conducted with personnel at ten SEAs regarding their interactions with Title VII, and the independent roles of states in fostering bilingual education. The ten states represented were those included in the survey and fieldwork subsamples.

3. *Title VII Program Officers.* Interviews were conducted early in the study with federal Title VII personnel to obtain a programmatic background for interpreting fieldwork observations.

Data Collection and Interpretation

Studies at the eleven project sites were carried out by one or two researchers visiting the project site for two or more days to interview project participants, other

[8] See Berman and Pauly.

district personnel, and community members; the researchers also observed the educational program in project and (when possible) nonproject classrooms. From these interviews and observations, we drew inferences and made judgments about the political and educational factors that led to the initiation of the project, the quality of its implementation, and its long-term prospects.

These inferences and judgments, supplemented by interviews with SEA and federal program office personnel, formed the basis for statements about bilingual education innovation; they were then tested against experiences across projects using the model developed in earlier change agent work as a synthesizing scheme. The results were organized into the findings presented in this report.[9]

CONTENTS OF THE REPORT

The context and organizing scheme for this research are described in Sec. II of this report. Sections III and IV present empirical findings; Sec. III discusses the initiation phase of bilingual education, and Sec. IV discusses findings related to issues of project design and implementation. Special issues relating to project continuation are outlined in Sec. V. Section VI summarizes and synthesizes our findings and reviews their implications for federal Title VII policy.

[9] See Paul Berman and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change. Vol. I: A Model of Educational Change*. The Rand Corporation, R-1589/1-HEW, September 1974.

II. IMPLEMENTATION OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

The many political influences that affect the implementation of projects in bilingual education set it apart from other educational innovations. This section introduces these influences and describes the phases of implementation that are the organizing scheme for the report.

POLITICAL INFLUENCES

Most educational innovations are affected by political factors that are both internal and external to the local district setting. Our Phase I research suggested that the force and range of these influences are much greater for bilingual education innovation than for the other innovative programs studied as part of the change agent study.[1] Our earlier work suggested that political factors influence the form and substance of bilingual innovations from their first beginnings to the continuation decision. In fact, one of the important findings of Phase I was that, unlike other innovations, bilingual education projects were likely to be continued in the face of many implementation problems and low perceived success among participants.[2] These findings led us to believe that a systematic analysis of the political influences that affect bilingual education innovations would be useful and necessary to gain an understanding of bilingual education projects funded by Title VII and, more generally, the bilingual education movement. Such an analysis might also shed light on less visible political influences on other educational innovations.

We make broad use of the modifier "political" to describe influences and constraints on decisionmaking that may be independent of educational needs. This broad definition of "political" includes factors that are usually considered as bureaucratic elements—for example, organizational, staffing, and budgeting priorities—as well as influences more commonly considered political—for example, constituency demands. Although both political and educational elements are probably present in most decisions affecting implementation, we believe that one or the other usually dominates, and that in the case of bilingual education, the dominant factor is often political.

An analysis of the political factors influencing bilingual education is a dynamic exercise. *Public* bilingual schooling in the United States is a relatively unfamiliar educational process, and many of these influences have not yet reached the state of maturation where they are more-or-less consistent and predictable. For example, a wide range of groups—from local constituency organizations to the Office of Civil Rights (OCR)—are still in the process of testing the boundaries of their respective influences on the progress of bilingual education. Not only does the nature of these influences change over time, but parallel influences in different localities and differ-

[1] These programs were ESEA Title III, Right-To-Read, and Vocational Education, 1968 Amendments, Part D.

[2] See Berman and Pauly.

ent regions may be at different stages at a given time, making generalization difficult.

In looking systematically at political influences on bilingual education, it is important to have an a priori sense of what these influences are. Our Phase I research suggested three types: administrative, local constituency, and outside agency influences.

Administrative Influences

These include such factors as budget and staffing priorities that are internal to the school district organization. They are probably always present when an allocation decision is made, but they may be stronger for bilingual educational innovations, which are costly and usually require massive staff reorganization. Administrative influences have a direct effect on district administrators, who set policy and make such decisions for the district.

Local Constituency Influences

These are the most directly "political" of the factors. They may be external to the district organization in the form of community advocacy or community opposition groups, or they may be internal to the district in the form of opposition from monolingual teachers or advocacy from bilingual teachers. Constituencies are interest groups and have no decisionmaking power. Their influence is felt by district administrators and may serve to politicize their administrative decisions. For example, an aroused and supportive constituency might predispose a superintendent whose contract is up for renewal to decide to allocate local funds for bilingual education.

Outside Agency Influences

These are factors impinging on the district from outside. The agencies that exercise these influences, for example, the OBE and the OCR, have their own national constituencies, but their effects at the local level are generally felt in terms of opportunities, demands, and constraints. For example, the OBE provides funds but dictates that programs be ethnically and linguistically integrated. The OCR may threaten withdrawal of all federal funds if a district does not develop an approved bilingual plan.

PHASES OF IMPLEMENTATION

The initial findings of the change agent study suggested that it is useful to view the process of implementation and continuation of an educational innovation in terms of temporal phases.[3] We use four phases in our report: initiation, design, operationalization, and continuation. Each of these phases is characterized by a set of decisions and decision outcomes. In some phases the major decision is discrete, and thus the outcome and end point of the phase are clearly discernible; in other phases

[3] Berman and McLaughlin, Vol. I.

the major decisions have multiple outcomes, and hence the beginning and end of these phases are less clear-cut. Decisions made in each phase affect decisions in later phases. In general, previous decisions pose constraints on available future alternatives or preempt subsequent decisions entirely.

The four blocks in Fig. 2.1 represent the phases of implementation, and the major decisions that characterize each phase are presented in the appropriate block. The remainder of this section will discuss, in turn, the four phases of a bilingual innovation.

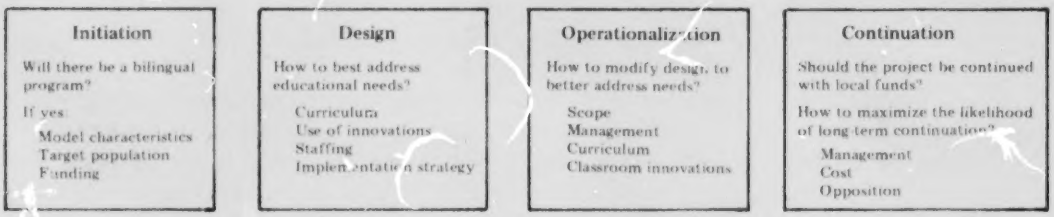

Fig. 2.1—The innovation process: phases and major decisions

Initiation Phase

The initiation phase describes the period during which major decisions are made that determine the basic character of the program. The main decision, of course, is whether there will be a bilingual program at all. This yes-no decision is often made on the basis of a crude needs assessment, for example, the number of Spanish-surname students in the district or the number of non-English-dominant students who are not attending school.[4] If it is decided to have a program, decisions are then made concerning the level and source of funding, where the program will fit in the district hierarchy, who will be served by the program, whether the program will pursue a maintenance or transition philosophy, possibly the selection of project director, and who should plan the details of the program and write the proposal.

Design Phase

The design phase describes the period during which specific program design decisions are made. This phase is generally more "delivery oriented" than the initiation phase, because it is primarily concerned with matching program characteristics to educational needs and resource availability and because decisionmakers are often teachers and others directly involved in delivery of educational services. Decisions are multiple and address such needs as staffing, materials, development of an implementation strategy, and location of program sites. The number of decisions to be made and the range of available alternative solutions may be con-

[4] More sophisticated needs assessments are rarely performed, and certainly not at this stage. For one thing, the people who make such assessments are often neither educators nor educationally sophisticated. For another, the point of needs assessments at this stage is usually political rather than educational. Finally, more sophisticated needs assessment models are lacking. Tests developed to measure language skills or language dominance are inadequate.

strained by the decisions made during the initiation phase. For example, number and choice of program sites may have been decided earlier in response to administrative influences.

Operationalization Phase

This phase coincides with the period of project implementation, which begins when the project first becomes operational. The operationalization phase covers the period during which the project must adapt to the realities of its institutional setting. In the ideal case, both the project design and the institutional setting undergo mutual adaptation and adjustment in the search for optimal project operating conditions.[5]

Decisions in this phase are addressed to the question of how best to adapt the project and the setting in light of current implementation experiences. These decisions are not discrete in terms of outcome or number. The result is that the operationalization phase often has no clear end point—a project can adapt continuously. In earlier work, the end point of this phase was generally considered to be the point at which federal funding ended and a continuation decision had to be made. The need for continuation decisions, as will be discussed below, is not so clear-cut for most bilingual projects.

Continuation Phase

The continuation phase has often been characterized as the period during which a clear-cut decision is made whether or not to continue the project with local funds. This discrete funding decision has rarely been made for Title VII projects; most have extended past the initial period of federal funding with state bilingual funding or other federal funding (such as Title I and CETA[6]), which in some cases is likely to be available indefinitely.

Incorporation is also usually expected to occur during the continuation phase, and in fact is a goal of the federal Title VII program. Incorporation is often defined as occurring when the project relinquishes special-program status and becomes incorporated into the regular school curriculum. For many Title VII projects, however, this sort of incorporation may never come to pass, again because of project management guidelines imposed by external funding. A more useful indicator of incorporation might therefore be the point at which the nature of funding reaches its long-term state, a vague notion at best.

Although incorporation does not usually take place when Title VII funding ceases, the fact that Title VII funding ends at a certain point in time is important for policy purposes. Major decisions may need to be made by the district with respect to funding and project design (e.g., whether the project will be continued with the same level of resource expenditures per pupil). The three previous decision phases described above are reiterated, although generally in telescoped form.

[5] For a discussion of mutual adaptation, see Berman and McLaughlin, Vols. I and IV.
[6] Comprehensive Employment and Training Act.

III. THE INITIATION PHASE

POLITICAL CONTEXT

The growth of bilingual education has coincided with a period of rapidly expanding civil rights and sociopolitical awareness for ethnic minorities. The federal bilingual education program, Title VII, has been embroiled for years in questions concerning educational opportunity, minority isolation, and the obligations of societal institutions to address the unique needs of minority groups. Top HEW administrators have argued with Title VII staff about whether bilingual education is a compensatory program whose goal is to get children of limited English-speaking ability "up to speed," or whether the program should have as its main focus the development of children who, in gaining proficiency in English, retain their dominant language and pride in their cultural heritage. At the federal level, the Title VII program has the support of a large constituency group; this group has greatly increased congressional support for the program. The existence of this constituency has made Title VII threatening to some in the OE and has resulted in attempts by OE personnel outside Title VII to exert controls on the program.

At the state and local levels, bilingual education has the support of constituencies that are variously vocal and influential. At the local level, these groups have increasingly sought to establish bilingual programs and have made it clear to the LEAs that their development, continuation, and often expansion are matters of much concern. In a few cases, these demands are consistent with district concerns; often they are presented to districts that lack any view of bilingual needs, or that are opposed to bilingual schooling.

As a result, bilingual education projects have often become targets and rallying points for constituency groups and government agencies whose agendas are only in part oriented to the delivery of educational services. For example, we observed several instances in which constituency groups have attempted to use Title VII projects as vehicles to provide jobs for ethnic minorities. Educational agendas have not necessarily suffered from this attention; several such alliances have been invaluable in countering the many local and regional resistances to bilingual education.

The interest shown by politically oriented groups has sometimes led to a confusion of political and educational issues in disputes over bilingual policy. Even worse, in some disputes one side may be debating from a political premise and the other from an educational premise, without acknowledging the difference, so that one has the vague feeling that the two sides are not really communicating with each other.

The recurring debate over short-term transition versus long-term language maintenance programs is an important instance of a political issue (having to do with the basic role of public education) with heavy budgetary ramifications, but that often seems to be debated purely on the educational merits (i.e., whether long-term educational objectives are better served by indefinitely retaining two languages for instruction).

Adding to the general confusion, some bilingual project components that were imposed on districts by sociopolitical pressure have turned out to have high educational value. Self-concept enhancing cross-cultural components, in particular, have

been incorporated only reluctantly into some projects, but educators are now attaching increasing importance to enhancing self-concept as both an aid to cognitive learning and as a way of compensating for cultural discrimination.

DECISIONMAKING IN THE INITIATION PHASE

The initiation phase, as outlined in Fig. 2.1, represents the period during which major decisions are made that determine the basic character of a bilingual education program. District administrators, constituencies, and outside agencies are generally most active in these decisions (the role of educational specialists is usually strongest later on in the process of implementation, when basic political questions have been addressed).

The decisions that are made during this phase have to do with whether in fact there will be a bilingual project, who will constitute the target population, general characteristics of the project model, placement of the project in the district hierarchy, selection of a project director, and assignment of responsibility for project design. We will discuss these decisions in turn.

The Initiation Decision

The first and most important decision that is made in the initiation phase is whether there will be a bilingual program at all. This question raises issues of the proper role of the schools vis-à-vis minority cultures, issues of resource allocation and budgetary priorities within a district, and the question of the extent to which districts must or should address the needs and demands of the various groups that they presumably "serve." Questions of the educational merits of bilingual education are not eclipsed, but they are often not prominent in these considerations.

In a substantial number of the districts we studied, the fact that federal funds for bilingual programs were available through Title VII made the decision obvious about whether to have a program.

There seemed to be little concern at the district level with the future funding and other implications of bilingual programs. This in part reflects the opportunistic orientation of many districts to the Title VII funds. In others, it reflected merely a reasonable and timely response to an opportunity to create or augment a needed program; a fear or concern about the future was inappropriate.

Opportunistic Response. In a few districts, federal funding prompted what we characterize as an opportunistic response—that is, the district had not developed bilingual programs on its own and had not particularly concerned itself with the needs of the non-English-dominant speakers in the district before its application for federal Title VII monies. There was strong potential support for bilingual education among the teaching staff in one of these districts, but staff parochialism had precluded an assertive response. In another case, potential staff support was lacking, and the project that developed was characterized by a lack of interest and commitment on the part of local participants.

In one district, the absence of programs before federal funding reflected a political reality overlooked in the decision to pursue federal funding—that some potential

target groups did not wish to share their culture with members of other cultural groups. The failure of the district to address this issue in the initiation or design phases resulted in a project fraught with problems, a project that appeared at the time of our visit to be heading toward a rapid demise.

In another district, apparent opportunism was tempered by a previous concern on the part of the district with the needs of the target groups. The need for special programs had been publicly acknowledged by the district, but the costs of program development and installation had been cited as prohibitive. In this case, the decision to initiate a program was easily made; the availability of federal funds permitted the district to develop programs to which it had a previous commitment.

Problem-Solving Responses. Typically, districts had made some previous response to need, albeit informally or in a limited way. Usually, the district had made either an organizational or budgetary commitment to ESL,[1] and federal funding permitted an incipient program to become more fully bilingual—to include more children and to buy teacher training, aides, and/or materials. In these districts, Title VII monies were generally regarded as a welcome if perhaps short-term solution to local problems that had begun to be addressed on a limited basis before federal funds were available.

In a few districts, the availability of Title VII funding did not necessarily imply an easily made decision to apply for funds. These districts were considered by informants to be conservative and generally noninnovative. Need for new programs of any type was generally not discovered by the district; pressure and enlightenment came from organized constituencies or dedicated groups of insiders and outsiders. Such was the case for bilingual education. In one reluctant district, a privately funded survey of school attendance revealed that a large percentage of non-English-dominant students were simply not attending school. The activists who conducted the study, many of whom were non-Hispanics and most of whom were not part of the district staff, acknowledged that the district's "no problem" stance was correct, given the myopic indifference of district personnel toward the nonattenders. The attendance report received much media coverage from a liberal and sympathetic press and strongly predisposed a decision to apply for Title VII funds.

In another noninnovative district, community pressure for a bilingual program pushed a district that was beginning to move in that direction toward making a decision to pursue Title VII funding. The community and the district had markedly different agendas—the district was under pressure to integrate the district, and the community wanted intensive bilingual programs for target children only—but they did initially agree to have a program. Their disagreements became more volatile in later stages of the decisionmaking process.

Stance of Target Constituencies. The existence of strong community involvement in the district described above was rather unusual. In most districts we visited, the levels of target community awareness and politicization were generally low at the time initiation decisions were being made (in the late 1960s and early 1970s). Bilingual education was a relatively new educational idea and had not become the focus of community concern. Perhaps of equal importance, target constituencies were very divided on the issue of bilingual education, even if they were aware and

[1] English as a Second Language.

politicized. In regions where target groups formed a substantial part of the population, long-standing policies had often existed that prohibited the use of Spanish in particular and of other non-English languages more generally in public schools. Many Hispanic adults had grown up believing that it was "bad" to speak Spanish and they were therefore ambivalent at best toward the idea of bilingual education. Another set of target community members had more practical objections. They felt that time spent learning and reinforcing Spanish would necessarily reduce the amount of time spent learning English. The result might be fluent Spanish speakers who could not function effectively in an English-dominant country.

As the level of politicization has increased in target communities and programs have been initiated, the concerns of those who were reluctant to speak Spanish have been reduced, and most are supporters. However, the objections of those who fear that bilingual education will produce children who are deficient in English have generally not been stilled.[2] The growing emphasis on the affective value of bilingual education has reduced the number and vociferousness of target community opponents. Further, the political benefits of bilingual education programs are increasingly being recognized.

Stance of Nontarget Constituencies. The stance of nontarget constituencies toward bilingual education has also been variable. We witnessed no instances where this constituency initiated bilingual projects, but in some cases they have volunteered active support in design and implementation. In many more cases, they have shown lack of concern, especially where the bilingual project was small relative to the overall district program.

Nontarget constituencies opposed to bilingual education had not been organized during the initiation phase in the districts we visited. In general, even when the movement toward bilingual education was noted by these groups, the program was not regarded as a threat because it was viewed only as a way to bring target children "up to speed." The implications of such programs for target community politicization were not anticipated.

Who Will Be Served

Having decided to have a program, the district must make a number of decisions that may have political, economic, and educational importance. Among the most significant is the question of who will be served by the program. The number and range of linguistic skills of those who are to be included in a bilingual program have an enormous effect on project design staffing and per-pupil resource level. The extent to which resources are to be spread over English-dominant Hispanics, non-English speakers, and English-dominant Anglos has important political implications.

Who a project will serve depends to some degree on whether a program is considered to be a demonstration project or to have a service orientation. The Title VII program has almost exclusively funded demonstration projects. For example,

[2] Indeed, in some programs, the average performance of students in English-language skills has not improved beyond the level that would be expected without the benefit of bilingual schooling. However, these cases may be misleading and their critics misinformed; the "average" performance scores from bilingual programs often include students who would have dropped out were it not for these programs. Because the potential dropouts tend to be lower achievers, the success of the programs in reducing dropout rates paradoxically makes program cognitive performance look worse.

Title VII projects typically serve only a small subset of students who might be eligible and needy. The focused nature of Title VII projects has met considerable opposition from some community activists, who feel such projects are not responsive to widespread and pressing needs. Title VII encourages projects that begin in the early grades and grow vertically. Most respondents supported this approach, and all the projects we saw had followed some variant of this developmental sequence.

Generally, the stance of target constituencies has been that bilingual programs should serve only target children, and that they should serve *all* target children, not only those who are deficient in English.[3] The usual argument is an educational one—that these are the children who most need such programs, not only to improve the English-speaking ability of those who are deficient in that language, but also to reinforce cultural pride and thereby build self-esteem among all target children. Using precious and limited resources to teach Spanish to nontarget youngsters is strongly opposed by most target community representatives and parents in the majority of districts.

Support for segregated programs may in some cases be politically motivated. At one Title VII site, the Indian tribal council was adamantly against sharing details of their culture with non-Indians. At another site, an inner-city school principal was very helpful in providing the Title VII project with facilities that were somewhat insulated from the regular program; he was thus able to fulfill his plan for reducing school strife by effectively separating ethnic groups.

Most districts take the opposite view. Frequently, under pressure to desegregate, they fear that segregated bilingual programs will open up the districts to lawsuits. In regions such as the Midwest, the need to bring together dispersed target students to achieve a critical mass may raise such issues. One superintendent remarked that he was opening himself up to a possible future segregation suit because Title VII students are bused to a single school in order to assemble enough students to warrant the project.

In other parts of the country, dispersion has been artificially introduced through desegregation or school reorganization (e.g., Boston, San Francisco), which has brought the demise of Title VII projects.

Segregated programs that are not compensatory are likely to arouse opposition from nontarget constituencies. The palatability of a bilingual education project to the nontarget community varies inversely with the distance of the project from the traditional objectives of basic skills and transition. This effect may be rooted in economics (i.e., taxpayers disapprove of special treatment that is given some but not others), politics (i.e., cross-cultural training may be interpreted as politicization of the minority community), and/or fears that the bilingual program may be a magnet for minority families from outside the district.

Target constituencies are becoming more tolerant of desegregated programs in response to nontarget opposition to segregated programs. In a number of districts, target group leaders have recognized that desegregated programs could co-opt majority opposition and even turn nontarget parents into advocates. Such a view was recognized and lamented by Fishman,[4] who feels that serving majority children

[3] Many supporters of separatist approaches acknowledge that such approaches limit the effectiveness of the cross-cultural aspects of bilingual education and generally prolong effects associated with segregation.

[4] J. Fishman, "Bilingual Education: An International Perspective," Keynote Address, Second General Session, Fifth Annual International Bilingual/Bicultural Education Conference, San Antonio, Texas, May 4, 1976.

is unfortunately necessary to garner stable support for bilingual programs. In one district, the political necessity of including native English speakers became immediately apparent when Anglo parents threatened to withdraw their children from the schools served by bilingual programs if their children were not included. Acting on this threat would probably have brought about the demise of the project; project staff and community people acquiesced to the political necessity of desegregation.

In the early years of Title VII, the program office did not have an official position on segregation of projects. Title VII came increasingly under fire for funding many segregated projects; in 1971 Title VII required that funded projects be integrated with native English speakers. This new policy was the determining factor in deciding who would be served in at least one district. Community and district members of the joint steering committee repeatedly clashed over whether the project was to be segregated as the community wanted, or integrated, which the district preferred. The district presented these alternatives to federal Title VII staff. The federal Title VII staff chose the design that called for an integrated participant group.

The ethnic makeup of the participating students may be inextricably bound up with decisions about the nature of the bilingual program itself. For example, a bilingual program, even if integrated by design, may experience substantial changes in its participant group over time. In one district where the bilingual program was designed to remedy basic skills deficiencies, project classrooms were integrated at its inception. Because it was viewed as a "catchup," project objectives were couched in terms of enhancement of basic skills; students could leave the project and return to regular classes when they achieved at no less than 1.8 years below grade level. Within two years, the program was segregated—native English speakers were able to catch up more easily, and were invariably replaced by students who had more need of instruction, for the most part native Spanish speakers.

Needs assessments have often been used as a basis for determining appropriate program participants. The apparent educational nature of such assessments is easily turned to political advantage. As noted above, in one district the results of a survey of nonattenders were used to demand bilingual education programs. In other districts, limited needs assessments have weakened the position of proponents; monolingual Spanish speakers comprise only a small proportion of the potential target group for bilingual programs in most districts. If "need" is defined solely in linguistic terms, which it often is, the inclusion of English-dominant ethnics in programs may become less defensible.

As projects mature, new target groups may seek to receive bilingual programs. Spurred on by the successes of the largest non-English-speaking minority group in the area, secondary linguistic minorities have presented their demands to the district through the local bilingual program staff. In one district, the response was immediate and hostile. Members of the primary target community argued that the bilingual umbrella could not cover a second group, that it would be too hard to have simultaneous translation at PAC meetings, and that funds were too scarce. One district observer noted that the primary target community's responses rivaled in hostility the reaction of the dominant community to their initial demands. In spite of primary target community resistance, the district is moving to develop programs for the second target group. It could hardly do otherwise on grounds of equal protection.

Model and Design Issues

Characteristics of the bilingual education model that underly a bilingual program are frequently decided on during the initiation phase. There are some good reasons for this apparent preemption of educational concerns. Different educational models have widely different recurrent costs. Also, different models include different groups in the program, and political exigencies may incline a decision toward one model or another on this basis.

Probably the most important model-related characteristic about which early political decisions are made is whether the program will be transition- or maintenance-oriented. Transition programs use two languages of instruction to facilitate fluency in English; the native language is phased out as students gain English-language skills. Maintenance programs use two languages of instruction to facilitate or retain fluency in both. Transitional programs are relatively cheap, remedial in orientation, and therefore limited in scope to students who are lacking English-language skills. For these reasons, transition programs are less likely to incur the opposition of nontarget constituencies or district personnel who fear that they might lose power in the organizational and financial shake-up that a long-term locally funded maintenance program would involve. Maintenance programs are almost universally the choice of target constituencies, who increasingly point to the self-esteem enhancing aspects of maintenance programs to support their view.

In the districts we studied, the maintenance/transition question debated at the federal level had not been a local issue during the initiation decision. All had proposed a design that went beyond simple transition. Two reasons for the low salience of the question were suggested by a number of respondents: a lack of future orientation so that the cost and political implications of starting a maintenance program were not considered; a noncontentious initiation decision that meant that early proponents did not have to adopt a compromise transitional position to get approval for initiation.

The transition versus maintenance approach is more of an issue at the local level now, as the temporary nature of federal funding becomes more apparent and districts must balance demands for continued maintenance programs against costs and counterdemands. In many of the districts we visited, the stance taken by the new funding source dictated a change. In one district, state legislation mandated and funded a transitional model that itself was a compromise between, in this case, proponents of maintenance models of bilingual education and those who were concerned about the costs of a maintenance model. In another district, state bilingual funding was more discretionary, so that the target constituency that represented the vast majority of the district's community advocated and received a maintenance program that is thin in material resources but rich in the sense that nearly all teachers in the district are bilingual. In a large and highly decentralized district, the choice of program model was made at the school-building level and was the result of different school priorities and attitudes.

In general, it appeared that the more politicized the decisionmaking situation was at local or state levels, the more likely it was that a transition program would emerge from the deliberations. In a few resource-rich districts (e.g., where nearly all teachers are bilingual and some state texts are available in Spanish), transition-level funding has been sufficient to allow a pared-down maintenance program to continue.

Other aspects of a program model may be decided in the initiation phase. One is the grouping of participant students. In districts with small target populations, some provision must be made to mount a viable project in the face of highly dispersed target students. In one district, it was decided to bus some target students to a centralized location, and to provide a mobile classroom for others. In another, a less visible and political solution involved creating nongraded classrooms where a range of ages and linguistic skills could be accommodated.

Another aspect of the program model is the composition of the Parent Advisory Council. The PAC is the formal channel between the target constituency and Title VII projects. In the early years, decisions about PAC membership were often highly politicized. Site visits indicated that effective community involvement in bilingual projects is rare among parents who are not native English speakers; active advisory councils were typically manned by community activists and/or nontarget parents. District officials often found "active" PACs burdensome, especially in those cases where community and district did not see eye to eye on issues of project implementation. In one district, PAC membership has continued to be a major issue. Community groups argue that it is they and not the parents who have the necessary power and wherewithal to serve as effective monitors of district bilingual policy.[5]

Recent Title VII policy limits PAC membership to parents of non-English-dominant students. The effect of this regulation can be expected to be variable, depending on political and demographic contexts. The regulation serves to keep official community influence in the hands of target families, but unless their membership includes persons who are also influential in district politics, their influence may be small. In point-of-entry communities, for example, the parent-only PAC policy may, in effect, preclude an active formalized role for the target community. In one such district, parent training classes were conducted for several years before parents were sufficiently comfortable with each other and familiar with school administration to assume advisory roles. The model was not a viable one to begin with; when training classes ended for lack of funds, no new parents could be prepared for active PAC involvement. Parent-only PACs are most likely to serve the advisory function envisioned for them where the target constituency is in the majority. In these districts we found PAC members who were members of the community elite; one was a state representative. These PACs took an active policymaking role in all areas of the project.

Bilingual Education in the District Hierarchy

The status of a program's administrator in a district is often a reliable indicator of the esteem in which the program is held, and of the power of its proponents to control resources. We encountered a variety of hierarchical arrangements among the Title VII programs we studied, although most were administered through the office of special or extramural programs—the usual place for programs funded with outside monies on a time-limited basis. Few projects had given any thought to where a continued bilingual program might be housed at the time of the initiation decision. In one of the projects that did, however, transition to regular instruction was consid-

[5] In communities experiencing a recent influx of native Spanish speakers, parents of non-English-dominant students and members of established community organizations frequently constitute mutually exclusive groups.

ered as early as the initial proposal for funding. The staff of the regular instruction division was given the responsibility for the original program design to ensure that it would be incorporated smoothly and without erosion into the regular instruction program.

Proponents have frequently noted the need for new organizational structures or special funding arrangements to ensure the growth and continuance of bilingual programs. Community activists in one district lobbied for the establishment of a department of bilingual education during the period of federal Title VII funding. It was felt that the department in turn would promote strategies for continuation—a belief that was largely borne out. The project director of another program has tried to ensure that the bilingual program would be picked up entirely by local funds and would lose its special program status when Title VII funding ended. His approach is to inform the target community of the worth of bilingual education and to develop a political constituency that will be vigilant against its demise. His approach has met with substantial success, and some animosity from his district colleagues.

Linking bilingual education with compensatory education organizationally is not an uncommon pattern, but it is often galling to proponents of a maintenance and enrichment view of bilingual education. In one district, community activists staged protests when the director of bilingual education was dismissed without their knowledge. Out of the protests came a settlement that spelled out a number of commitments on the part of the district to bilingual education, including the establishment of a department of bilingual education, headed by a director. The community failed to elicit an agreement about the position of this director; he reports to the director of compensatory programs, and is the only program director who does not report directly to the assistant superintendent for instruction. The target community is resentful of the implied compensatory focus and low status of the bilingual program; its hierarchical position has increasingly become a political bone of contention.

Selection of a Project Director

The selection of a project director was typically made at the time of the initiation decision; in some cases, this person was immediately hired to help write the Title VII proposal. Usually the decision was made by district administrators without community counsel. Subsequent project management decisions have generally been made with community involvement.

Respondents agreed that a project or program director is critical to successful implementation. A director of bilingual education has a personal stake in program progress, and serves as an advocate. Programs without a director have generally suffered. One program served several rural districts and had no directors at district level; in one of the districts, the project was "run" by a traveling teacher, but responsibilities devolved to aides at each site. Although the aides performed very well, their status made it impossible to negotiate successful solutions with certificated teachers and principals. The project is not likely to be continued. In another project, clashes between the target community and district over initiation made selection of a director a political decision. The compromise candidate who was selected was unable to function effectively in the dual role of district administrator and community activist; he was fired and not replaced. Instead, the district asked the community to forego a project director and use the salary in the program. The

community agreed and the director of special projects coordinated the program. But the community recognized the need for a director and advocate and demanded a replacement, a demand to which the district acceded, but only after requiring the new director to handle compensatory education as well.

Two issues are generally raised in the selection of a project director: his ethnicity and degree of politicization. The community usually demands that the director be not only bilingual but a member of the target group. In more than one project, a highly competent director who ran the project in its early years resigned or was asked to give up the directorship because he was not a member of the target group. The need for an ethnically identified project director may be more symbolic than real. Although ethnic identification may help to build or reinforce the support of the target community, it seems to lead to less acceptance and power in the district hierarchy. One successful project director became the favorite of the community and the district by being ethnically identified but Anglo in appearance and manner, and by being totally concerned with educational matters. The real importance of director ethnicity probably varies over districts and over time. Generally, ethnically identified project directors work better with the target community, while Anglo directors may be better able to effect change in the district hierarchy.

Districts seek project directors who have appropriate educational credentials, whose primary loyalties are to professional norms and interests, and who eschew political involvement. Community people, having focused on project director ethnicity, have not addressed the educator/politico split. In one case, community demands that an ethnic be hired forced the district to pass over numerous applications from Anglos and recruit an ethnic outsider. He turned out to be strongly political. He is disliked by many in the district offices who see him as a rabblerouser. His attempts at political organizing and development of a constituency for bilingual education have produced factions in the target community; recently arrived constituents tend to favor his approach, but those who are more established and affluent join district administrators in resenting his organizing zeal.

Political turmoil seems to incline districts even more strongly to select educators as project directors. After widespread political protest over the firing of the first director, one district proposed and the community accepted an accomplished academician.

Selection of Project Designers

Although design decisions may be made in the initiation phase, the many details that give a project form and substance are usually left to be decided during the design phase. The people who make these decisions often have no role in the initial set of political decisions; they are tapped by political decisionmakers to take over where political decisions end.

Who makes design decisions is generally decided in the initiation phase. Our site visits indicated that this was one of the least politically charged decisions, in part because the major decisions, for example, who will be served, had already been made. The person or persons assigned responsibility for design were without exception educationally oriented. Typically, in districts where a program of some sort already existed the person in charge was asked to develop the proposal. This was often an ESL teacher. In districts with no previous project or bilingual activities, the

person responsible for special or extramural projects was often asked to write the proposal. In one district, the decision to initiate was followed quickly by selection of the project leader. This person was hired to develop proposals and other sources of extramural funding.

IV. DESIGN AND OPERATIONALIZATION PHASES

Many consider bilingual education to be primarily a political innovation in that it recognizes and legitimates minority cultures and confirms the right of each child to a meaningful educational experience.[1] The extent to which bilingual education also represents an educational innovation is less clear. The use of two languages for instruction and the addition of cross-cultural elements represent basic curricular innovations. However, these curricular changes can and often do occur in the absence of innovations in delivery methods, such as open classrooms, individualized instruction, or diagnostic-prescriptive methods. Many educators have commented that bilingual education provides little in the way of innovative delivery methods.

Indeed, innovation qua innovation may not be an important concern. Certainly, from a political viewpoint, the presence of a program is sufficient, and this view is common. However, bilingual education programs present a number of design issues that if addressed from an educational perspective and delivered in an innovative manner may increase the likelihood of successful implementation of these programs and promote more effective resource use as well as increased political acceptability.

Returning to the temporal scheme presented in Sec. II, these issues are addressed before project installation in the design phase, and also subsequent to project installation in the operationalization phase. The issues themselves can be grouped into four interrelated categories:

1. Specification of desired project outcomes.
2. Search for resources and program-relevant information.
3. Design of the instructional model.
4. Facilitation of project operationalization.

The decisions made by the projects we visited in response to these kinds of issues will be described vis-à-vis both phases. Most projects consider all four issue categories in the design phase. In the operationalization phase, decisions are responses to (1) needs not adequately anticipated in the design phase or (2) needs imposed by outside intervention; therefore, different projects may not encounter the same sets of issues.

The two phases are discussed in the same section because the same set of issues is addressed in both. Additionally, design and operationalization decisions engage less time and concern than initiation and continuation decisions. This reflects in part the view of many that bilingual education is not in essence an educational delivery innovation. It also suggests the degree to which important design decisions are preempted during the initiation phase.

DECISIONMAKING IN THE DESIGN PHASE

Project planners make decisions during the design phase regarding project design, subject to certain constraints. The major elements of the design phase are the

[1] José Vázquez, personal communication, May 1976.

constraints that place limits on the range of acceptable decision outcomes, and the issues of design themselves. These elements will be discussed in turn in the following pages.

Constraints on Design

The range of possible responses to design issues is limited by several factors, including the nature of the needs that the project must address, the availability of resources, and the extent to which decisionmaking in the initiation phase preempted design decisions. These factors together determine the range of design decision outcomes that are appropriate or acceptable; at the extreme, great needs, few resources, and a high level of preemption may leave designers no choices. The range and nature of decisions vary from project to project; needs are location specific, resource availability varies from region to region, and the extent of political preemption has both locational and temporal dimensions.

Variability of Needs. The needs of target populations served by Title VII projects vary markedly across the country. The most obvious differences have to do with *language type*. An overwhelming number of the Title VII projects funded in 1975-76 served populations whose dominant culture was Hispanic. The remaining projects were divided among 20 or so language groups. Projects that served languages of low incidence had few commercially available materials to rely on and thus were mostly self-sufficient with respect to materials development and staff training. Several dialect/culture groups were sometimes represented in the same project, making it difficult to use a uniform materials list.

Another important dimension relating to variability of needs has to do with mix of *language skills*. A project may serve some students who are monolingual in English, some who are monolingual in another language, some who can communicate to some degree in both languages, and some who have difficulty communicating in either. In many projects most target students are native English speakers; however, because of their mixed linguistic/cultural backgrounds, they have special educational needs that are generally not addressed by regular school curricula.

There are differences in the average *socioeconomic status* of students in different bilingual programs, and differences in the length of time that the families of target students have resided in the United States. These differences may affect the range and kind of services a project provides. For example, on the East Coast, where there are many newly arrived Puerto Ricans, some projects provide practical instruction in urban "survival" skills, such as how to use subways, park facilities, and public health services. Projects may also attempt to give parents the same service. Such "port-of-entry" districts must also accommodate monolingual Spanish speakers entering the programs at a variety of grade levels.

Finally, there are important differences relating to *residential patterns*. In the West, Southwest, and many eastern cities, target students are largely concentrated in barrios, small enclaves, or comprise a substantial portion of the district population. This offers the advantage of scale economies. The numbers of target students may warrant schoolwide programs, or at least full classrooms. There is also likely to be a range of social services directed at the target group by nonschool agencies which the project can draw on. In the Midwest and in rural areas of other parts of the country, target populations are more dispersed, and project funds must therefore

be spread more thinly, both in terms of geography and the kinds of services provided. At the same time, the need to speak and write English may be more urgent because there is no barrio, and there are not likely to be bilingual personnel in stores, government offices, hospitals, etc.

Resource Shortages. Resource limitations, especially lack of trained personnel, often produced more innovative solutions to design problems than the designers' personal predispositions toward innovation might have predicted. In some districts innovative delivery systems were necessary in order to design projects that were bilingual by even the loosest definition. Many instances of teaming between bilingual and monolingual teachers were motivated for this reason. In one inner-city district, the linguistic abilities of students within each primary grade were especially disparate, so that simple teaming of pairs of teachers could not adequately accommodate needs; the district solved its dilemma by departmentalizing instruction in the grade levels served by the project. In another district blessed with new facilities, the bilingual project experimented with an open classroom format to accomplish the same effect as departmentalization. Two other districts addressed the challenge with pullout groups.

The undersupply of *bilingually qualified teachers* is evident, particularly in the Midwest and on the East Coast, but to what extent is not known. The supply of qualified teachers who match target students on ethnicity is even more limited.

Fieldwork informants repeatedly emphasized the need for bilingual training programs. Early university programs were criticized for inadequate treatment of other languages as mediums of classroom instruction. Some advocated government funding of a system of regional training centers to decrease dependence on interstate recruitment.

Others advocated expanded pre-service/in-service programs to take advantage of local talent, which is currently underutilized in several projects. One western project, for example, is situated in the midst of a very large Chicano population. Project teachers are required to pass a Spanish proficiency examination. Some Chicano applicants, who rely on the somewhat repressed Spanish of their natural backgrounds, do not do well on the test. Middle-class Anglos, who have the advantage of university-level Spanish-language training and travel abroad, frequently do better.

Training for bilingual teachers has been given new funding priority by the 1974 Title VII amendments and by certain states. The OBE funds university training programs and training resource centers, and grants stipends to college students enrolled in bilingual education training programs. Some states provide training money rather than direct aid to districts for bilingual programs. The surge of training activity at both the federal and state levels has not been without criticism, however. The OBE-funded training programs have been criticized for placing too much emphasis on educational philosophy and methods and too little emphasis on providing teachers with basic linguistic skills and cross-cultural awareness; the Title VII regulations (as of June 1976) do not specify standards for exit skills of trainees. At the state level, native bilingual speakers chided one state training program, available only to monolingual English speakers, that provided certification on completion of a specified number of university credit hours of Spanish instruction, apparently without proficiency testing; this training program was discontinued in 1975.

Most project directors reported that, although the supply of *commercial bilingual materials* was increased after the first year of Title VII, they were often unusable without significant adaptation.[2]

There has been little effective exploitation of local materials development by Title VII or others. Project designers rarely are aware of, or rarely use, materials developed by other districts. Instead each district seems to use scarce resources to reinvent the wheel.[3]

Constraints from the Initiation Phase. Decisionmaking that takes place during the initiation phase may preempt decisions that otherwise might have been made in the design phase. The extent of preemption for such matters as project philosophy and selection of project director varies from district to district.

In one rural district, preemption was low because the project served a relatively small proportion of the student population, and there was no political activity on the part of target constituents; the person primarily in charge of project design was also the initiator of the project, and was able to bring to bear a considerable measure of intellectual energy in shaping the direction of the project. In another suburban district, an extremely vocal target constituency had definite ideas about project design that conflicted with those of district planners; the effect was that most design decisions were made in the initiation phase, and the resulting project design was a series of compromises. In the latter case, it is interesting that district officers had sensed potential conflict with the constituency and to prevent this conflict from mushrooming into a much larger community/district confrontation had delegated design responsibility to a joint committee of community representatives, teachers, and lower-level district officers. The actions of this committee were largely political, and many decision outcomes were unpopular with community activists. However, "blame" for the decisions could not be placed directly with top district administrators, because community representatives sat on the committee.

Design Issues

We have noted four categories of issues that are the focus of decisionmaking in the design phase: specification of desired project outcomes, search for resources and program-relevant information, design of the instructional model, and facilitation of project operationalization.

Specification of Desired Project Outcomes. Although desired project outcomes are usually implicit in the decisions made in the initiation phase, the details are left to project designers. Designers must determine outcome priorities based on staff interest and skills and needs assessments. For example, many projects specify "greater parent involvement" as a desired project outcome. Serious commitment to this outcome may be very costly in terms of staff time and other resources. One

[2] The hurdle posed by adaptation seems to be decreasing as time goes by; this trend will be discussed further later in this section.

[3] Earlier work suggested that local materials development may be useful in fostering staff involvement and commitment (see Berman and Pauly; Peter W. Greenwood, Dale Mann, and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, Vol. III: The Process of Change*, The Rand Corporation, R-1589/3-HEW, April 1975; and Berman and McLaughlin, Vol. IV). However, adapting commercial materials may serve the same function and at the same time improve the quality of bilingual materials.

project had to apply later for extra funds in order to provide parents with language and other training necessary for their meaningful involvement.

Although previous decisions about who will be served generally constrain the choice of objectives, project designers may emphasize the needs of some groups more than others in stating and operationalizing priorities. For example, a decision to include Anglos in the program may force designers to propose objectives such as "development of competence in Spanish for native English-speaking children"; however, the priority given that objective in terms of staff time, materials acquisition, and numbers of Anglos enrolled in bilingual classrooms may be high or low.

Desired outcomes must be measurable if the project is to be able to assess its progress toward stated goals; this is a particular problem when outcomes concern affective development. Similarly, outcomes must be able to be operationalized so that they can be reflected in project activities and schedules.

Designers must also weigh outcomes based on needs assessments against local speculations as to what will be most acceptable to the funding agency. The more opportunistic designers lean heavily toward pleasing the funding sources, and efforts toward actual needs assessment may be cavalier. In one project, linguistic needs were overstated, and the objective of teaching a large number of students English skills was given the highest priority. In fact, many students possessed English skills; the money was wanted—and used for—a more enrichment-oriented program; the fact of receiving initial Title VII funding seemed to legitimate this objective. Cross-cultural enrichment of native English speakers was not central to Title VII goals at that time. Nevertheless, later Title VII attempts to modify and enlarge project objectives were viewed by the project staff as arbitrary and capricious.

The Search for Resources and Program-Relevant Information. In the early days of Title VII, project staffs generally adopted parochial approaches to solving design problems. School people may have viewed shortages of resources and applicable curriculum models as more serious and irremediable than they were, simply because bilingual education was such a departure from what went on before. Their inexperience in dealing with the concept and natural proclivities to avoid change may have rendered them less able to recognize the viability of many existing options and/or led them to exaggerate the difficulty of adaptation. The adaptation process is now more widely understood (thanks to the media, the many training programs for bilingual instruction, and the pervasiveness of local program development), and there is more facility with adaptation; hence some materials and technology options are newly recognized as such, even though they may have been around for some time.

For some, the very idea of bilingual instruction may have constituted a threat to jobs and established educational delivery. Now that bilingual education has become more legitimized, and it has been demonstrated that bilingual education will not simply go away if ignored, people are increasingly able to find adaptable curriculum resources and models.

Finally, school people tend to underestimate the applicability of bilingual models developed outside their respective districts, simply because there is a sort of myopic search pattern that tends to give more credence to ideas and products that originate near at hand from persons who are well known.

Models. We saw considerable evidence of dissemination of the controversial bilingual education idea, but not of information on particular operating characteristics, such as staffing patterns, pupil scheduling, and methods for incorporating two languages into regular instruction. In most of the fieldwork sites, instructional models were homegrown. There seemed to be an inordinately weak flow of ideas between bilingual projects despite Title VII funding of special projects for that purpose. It is not clear whether these efforts are completely inadequate or whether the projects are simply parochial in their search for information. In more than one site, it was target constituents, not district employees, who took the initiative to look outside the district for program-relevant information. They then lobbied their respective school boards to incorporate that information into project design.

There was much more dissemination of instructional model information within districts than between them, especially within larger districts where Title VII projects serve only a small proportion of target students. In three sites, Title VII projects have had a major influence on the development of other projects within the districts by sharing the benefits of staff training, management experience, materials, and experience with different instructional model characteristics.

Title VII often provided technical assistance at the time of project initiation, but most consultants in the early years lacked practical classroom experience with bilingual education. Local actors generally felt that instructional and curriculum consultants were disappointing. Many project staff members felt they would have been better off seeking their own consultants, or in following up on SEA recommendations. Consultants on administration were viewed more favorably; project informants commended consultants who provided assistance in this area.

Staff Recruitment. We have already noted that qualified bilingual teachers are in very short supply, particularly in certain regions. Although the problem is easing somewhat because of new federal and state priorities for capacity building, there is still considerable recruitment from out of state, especially in the Midwest and on the coasts; Texas and the Southwest are considered the prime sources for new teachers.

In some areas, particularly the Midwest, the supply of local talent is almost nonexistent. If a project must rely entirely on external recruitment, chances are high that the staff will be career-centered rather than place-centered, and staff turnover rates will be high. These recruitment and turnover problems are aggravated by competition from other school districts, other careers, university graduate programs, and even promotion within the district.

Several fieldwork projects were making extensive use of team teaching and pullout groups in order to make maximum use of small bilingual staffs. Some regarded these as temporary measures, and were actively engaged in staff development and recruitment well past the initial funding year.

Some informants suggested that the teacher-supply crisis, while severe, has been overemphasized in certain places. Community informants complained that district recruiters "don't know where to look," which was a polite way of claiming that districts are reluctant to go outside established channels, are reluctant to recruit at colleges where students are militant, or are using the shortage as an excuse to protect the jobs of existing monolingual staff. A few district officials have, in turn, complained that it would be easier to recruit teachers with special qualifications (e.g., bilingualism) if there were less preoccupation with accreditation at local and

state levels. For example, Puerto Rican teachers are eager to teach in the United States because of the oversupply of teachers on their island. State requirements make hiring difficult, but in at least one case perseverance and continuing pressure have led to some softening of the regulations to allow recruiting and hiring of Puerto Ricans who lack mainland credentials.

Materials. Large quantities of Spanish-language bilingual materials are now commercially available, but most project staff in the fieldwork sample reported difficulty in obtaining materials that suited their needs with respect to dialect, cultural representation, or educational content.[4] Without exception, projects engaged in their own materials development. Such development was dependent on the almost universal willingness of project teachers to devote many hours of their own time to the program. Such zeal may not be enduring. Bilingual projects that we observed have been largely staffed by a rather elite group with a high sense of commitment to bilingual education, either because of self-selection or an awareness of its special status. As bilingual education becomes more widespread and as training programs are forced to recruit more broadly to create an adequate supply of teachers, bilingual teachers may become no more willing to do extra work than nonparticipant teachers.

Fortunately, the diversity in materials is also increasing, and the Title VII projects that we observed are increasingly coming to rely on materials development centers funded by Title VII.

Design of the Instructional Model. Title VII projects have been mostly on their own in developing models for instruction; there has been very little sharing of what project personnel regard as relevant information in this regard. In most cases, Title VII has required that projects start with kindergarten and grade 1, then advance one grade level each year; the details of curriculum, scheduling, and staffing patterns are generally left to the local project designers. We have repeatedly observed a number of instructional modeling problems that impede project implementation. These are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Mid-Level Entry. Accommodating entry of older students who have few, if any, English skills into bilingual programs is a special problem for districts that are on the migrant stream or that are initial points of entry for non-English-speaking immigrants. Some schools simply place new students with their age-level peers, while others place students at the grade level that matches their supposed English-language skills. These practices meet either social or educational needs, but not both. A more imaginative approach used in one district was to keep most bilingual classrooms ungraded so that older students could enter classrooms where they best fit socially and chronologically; such students were provided intensive tutoring to narrow the relative linguistic advantage of their classmates.

Interestingly, there is a growing group of bilingual educators who feel that the mid-level entry problems that new arrivals to this country pose to bilingual projects should not be of overwhelming concern. They are coming to believe that the educational benefits of bilingual programs are not purely linguistic; such programs are

[4] Some experts feel that these difficulties often reflect or mask low levels of language and bilingual instruction skills among project staff. This lack of skills is reflected in the poor linguistic and conceptual quality of locally developed materials.

valuable because they increase students' self-esteem and instill feelings of pride in heritage, thereby compensating in part for cultural repression. The important targets of bilingual programs are the children of the indigenous Hispanic population; the newly arrived 15-year-old from, say, Mexico, has not been similarly repressed and presumably is well equipped to make the transition to American life if his purely linguistic needs are satisfied with an ESL program.

A related issue concerns part-year attendance, a common problem in migrant and recent-immigrant communities. The problem is particularly severe in transitional programs that prescribe treatment in terms of years—three months' attendance during a school year is not a year of treatment, but if only full-year sequences are incremented, many students would remain in "transitional" programs for their entire school career—a politically unacceptable even if educationally appropriate sequence of events.

Secondary Programs. Bilingual programs for junior and senior high-school students have had rough sledding. Instruction in the secondary grades is typically departmentalized rather than provided in self-contained classrooms; unless the project is large relative to the size of the school, there may not be enough resources to provide for flexible scheduling. The situation is aggravated by the fact that students in these age groups typically do not want to be identified with a special program that marks them as being different or in need of remedial instruction. One project is attacking this stigma by expanding to encompass the school's regular foreign language curriculum, thereby snaring a sizable proportion of college-bound students. Another project actively recruits the most popular students, in the belief that other students will follow.

Teaching of Languages to Native English Speakers. Another source of special design problems for bilingual programs is the SSL (Spanish as a Second Language) component designed to teach Spanish to native English speakers. Title VII has required, with mixed success, that bilingual projects be integrated (i.e., that project participants represent all ethnic groups that exist in the local school population). A recent General Accounting Office report[5] contends that too much integration occurs, so that services to the linguistically needy are compromised. Even without intentional integration, however, many participants are native English speakers. In such cases, SSL is theoretically as important to the success of the bilingual program as ESL. Nevertheless, the SSL component is consistently weak, largely because of lack of enthusiasm on the part of both staff and students.

Pacing. Pacing of implementation is very important to a project's success. Many projects have tried to implement across several grade levels immediately and have had to withdraw back to one or two grades because they were spreading too thin their pool of resources and creative talents. One district tried to save money by institutionalizing the management of its project from the very beginning, and it ran into difficulties that might not have occurred with slower implementation and heavier staffing at management level.

Project Management. Bilingual projects need strong advocates at the building level as well as at the district level. Accordingly, it is important for the project

[5] Comptroller General, *Bilingual Education*, op. cit.

director to spend considerable time in the school building where the project is located. When this is impractical, the person in charge at the building level should be locally influential. In one case, some project classrooms were over an hour's drive from project headquarters and were rarely visited by the director. School-level project management at some sites was entirely the responsibility of instructional aides. The aides were superbly qualified for the substance of the program, but could not stand up against the Anglo school board and the nonprogram certificated teaching staff.

The personal characteristics and abilities of the project director are very important, but it is not possible to generalize about what these characteristics should be. Different project directors have different personal styles, and different styles are more effective in different school districts. It is probably safe to say that commitment and energy are always helpful, but the value of charisma, for example, is probably overrated. One informant argued that the more charisma, the more likely the project will be personally identified with the project director, and the less likely the project will survive when he or she leaves. Project director departures are common; many are recruited from outside the district when funding becomes available and move on during the course of the project.

Facilitation of Project Operationalization. The first set of findings from this study[6] stressed that mutual adaptation between an educational innovation and its institutional setting is important to successful implementation and continuation. The extent of mutual adaptation over the life of a bilingual project depends largely on whether the initial project design incorporated strategies to facilitate this adaptation. In particular, provisions for ongoing planning, staff development, and support from nonparticipant staff are important. We found few projects where the original plan gave more than pro forma attention to these issues, although some projects moved to correct the oversights after project implementation had begun.

Ongoing Planning. Ongoing planning was found in Rand's earlier work to be most effective when it involved staff at all levels of project operation. It is also essential that planning be on-line; that is, it must be structured to provide rapid response to problems as they occur.

The conditions that make such involvement meaningful can be subtle. The management team of one project boasted that teachers participated fully in planning, but at least some of the teachers stated that their participation was ineffective, because they felt inhibited by the subordinate/supervisor relationship between teachers and project management.

However, the absence of acknowledged planning leadership can cause planning to backfire (at least from the standpoint of project management). One project formed a joint steering committee of district staff and community representatives; the two groups were poles apart on key issues, and frequent infighting precluded effective functioning as a planning body. The district finally stepped into the leadership vacuum; the superintendent dissolved the steering committee, then allowed a year to elapse before establishing a restructured group with more compatible members.

Staff Development. The main problem with staff development in many educational programs is that none is provided. Title VII projects have been an exception,

[6] Berman and McLaughlin, Vol. IV.

probably because Title VII requires staff development to be an explicit component of the proposal; the 1974 amendments to Title VII go so far as to require that a specified percentage of project funding be applied to this purpose. However, we have observed wide variability in the *quality* of staff development.

A common complaint with respect to consultants who provide in-service training, for example, was that, irrespective of their intellectual qualifications, few had had practical experience in bilingual classrooms; their training tended to be less problem-centered and more pedantic. One project developed its own problem-centered approach to in-service training in which project classrooms alternated in providing demonstrations in handling various problems and new techniques to other teachers.

Most of the projects we visited had carefully instituted incentives for participation in training sessions; the staff generally felt that incentives were important because training required more time than the regular school staff could commit.[7] Some projects arranged for participants to receive university credit for attending in-service sessions. Other projects arranged for teachers and aides to attend regular university classes. Training incentives appeared to be paying off at the individual project level. At the time of our site visits, there were many cases where aides had received teacher certification or were making rapid progress in that direction.

Development of Nonparticipant Staff Support. Bilingual projects are sometimes viewed as an occupational threat by monolingual teachers. This makes mobilization of their support especially difficult. Few of the projects in our fieldwork sample explicitly addressed this problem. One that did had some success by being very candid at the outset about the occupational implications of the project. The staff was informed that as the project advanced one grade level per year monolingual teachers in the affected grades would be transferred to other schools. After an initial near revolt, the nonproject staff became generally supportive.

A second project that was less sensitive to the need for nonparticipant support designed a pullout project to serve schools having small proportions of target students. The project did not provide an initial comprehensive orientation to the school staffs, but simply informed principals and teachers that certain students were to be pulled out of their classrooms at certain times for bilingual instruction. Three years after the program started, project/school interaction had not advanced significantly beyond this level, and teachers were still complaining that the bilingual project, as well as other pullout programs, was frustrating their efforts to provide students with coordinated programs of instruction.

Design Outcomes

In general, we saw little innovative project design. Delivery of bilingual services was to be carried out in a traditional way. A self-contained classroom with a single teacher and aide was the modal approach. Occasional departures, such as provisions for team teaching, more often reflected resource shortages than self-conscious attempts to deliver bilingual services in an innovative way.

One might have expected to find a strong orientation toward innovative design,

[7] The results of earlier work indicated that incentives to participate in training in the form of part of full pay were unrelated to the success of project implementation (see Berman and Pauly).

considering the many problems and constraints that project designers faced. There are several explanations for the generally noninnovative project designs we saw. Probably the most important is that many designers did not view bilingual education as an innovation beyond instruction in two languages and the introduction of some cross-cultural curriculum components.

A second explanation is that the initiation phase and the political influences involved in initiation decisions so dominated the program that there was little time, energy, or space left to develop innovative delivery systems. In many projects, the most important design-related decisions were made during the initiation phase by administrators.

A third reason for low levels of innovation is the real constraints posed by opponents. We saw no evidence of the adoption of a self-conscious strategy to design a project with a low profile in order to minimize visibility. However, some decisions were made to avoid innovations (e.g., new uses of space or scheduling changes) that might further antagonize an already hostile regular staff.

In a few cases, designers intentionally avoided innovation; some project designers felt that innovative management and delivery systems should not be a part of bilingual education programs. Many classroom innovations, such as open classrooms and contingency management, require a substantial measure of student independence, and are thought by some to be incongruent with bilingual target groups; some say the incongruence stems from cultural differences; others say that it stems from the fact that most target youngsters come from families where there is little complementary educational experience. One project director, who was more transition-oriented, reversed this argument, suggesting that innovative instructional methods are highly desirable in discouraging certain counterproductive cultural tendencies, such as noncompetitiveness, that are often treated as a liability in more traditional classroom settings.

Finally, many of the original projects were designed by ESL or foreign language specialists who had little propensity or the relevant experience to design innovative full-curriculum classroom-based programs.

DECISIONMAKING IN THE OPERATIONALIZATION PHASE

The operationalization phase is the testing period when a project design first faces the realities of the institutional setting. It is generally a less self-conscious phase than the initiation and design phases, in part because it generally has no end point and in part because it is largely reactive.

The elements of the operationalization phase are parallel to those of the design phase: a "decision space" that places constraints on the range of acceptable innovations, and the issues or problems that lead to decisions to modify the project. The issues are the same as for the design domain, but not every project will have to deal with all four categories of issues: (1) specifying desired project outcomes, (2) searching for resources and program-relevant information, (3) developing the instructional model design, and (4) facilitating project operationalization.

Constraints on Adaptation

The level of adaptation and innovation depended largely on implementation

strategies developed in the design phase and on the presence of organizational slack that would allow change. Implementation strategies that seemed to be the most productive, especially participatory planning and practical classroom training, were discussed earlier in this section. Important dimensions of organizational slack included unused classroom space, available basic resource materials, and extra personnel. The latter was especially important because it allowed flexibility in planning, training, and curriculum development. In one elementary school, for example, the principal used discretionary funds to hire college students to supervise physical education activities. This arrangement not only provided a physical education program that was superior to the previous teacher-supervised program, but also it freed enough of the teachers' time to organize daily planning/training activities. The bilingual staff used this time for their own project purposes as well as for interacting with the nonproject staff.

Adaptation and innovation were limited in some sites by lack of organizational slack. In one project, insufficient Title VII and local resources forced a project to remain small, although the need was great; in another, a political decision that required participation of nontarget students limited the range of possible adaptive responses.

Nature of Adaptation

Because of the reactive nature of decisionmaking in the operationalization phase, it is more useful to discuss innovation and adaptation in terms of motivation rather than kinds of issues; thus, we will organize the discussion according to whether innovations are responses to needs not adequately anticipated in the design, or to needs imposed by intervention from outside the project.

Adaptations in Response to Inadequate Project Design. Generally, the level of innovation at the classroom level in the sites we visited was high in the operationalization phase relative to that in the design phase. This was often because innovative delivery methods were necessary to address problems left unresolved in the design phase. Needs must be met, and to the extent that needs are not anticipated by building appropriate responses into the original project design, the design must be later modified. But this is an oversimplification. An innovative project design with an implementation strategy that includes ongoing planning, staff training, and the development of nonparticipant staff support is likely to be even more adaptive and innovative.

Some adaptation involved changes and improvements in the original design. In one site, the original design called for implementing the program at several grade levels. It became obvious that resources were being spread too thin, and the project decided to retrench. In another project, a new management structure was developed —a committee was formed to provide stability of administration after the dismissal of project directors became a frequent and politicized event.

In another project, it became apparent that monolingual Spanish parents could not actively participate in the PAC. A parent socialization program was established that taught parents how to speak English and use community facilities. After some time, the PAC became a viable policymaking group.

A few projects showed no inclination to adapt to address unmet needs. In most of these cases, the unmet needs were purely educational (e.g., children were not

learning English), and were not immediately apparent to policymakers. Still, classroom staffs were often aware of the problem, and no corrective or adaptive actions were taken. Whether staffs will have the expertise to correct such failures with the use of new models, curricula, or implementation strategies is unclear. Constituency pressure, either from target advocates or nontarget opponents, may be necessary to move these projects into making changes. Failures to correct such problems pose a widespread threat to the future of bilingual education, as will be discussed in Sec. V.

Modifications in Response to Outside Pressures. When outside agencies intervened during the operationalization phase, massive and disruptive design changes generally followed. For example, a number of school districts encountered state pressures for rapid expansion of bilingual projects as a result of state bilingual legislation. Because the state legislation affected all districts, it created a sudden demand for, in particular, bilingual staff; however, the regional supply of bilingual educators has been limited and can be expanded only after a several-year lead time. Some districts have responded to this state requirement by "pirating" staff from Title VII projects.

Pressures for rapid expansion have also come from the federal level, particularly from the Office of Civil Rights. The OCR is charged with enforcing a Supreme Court ruling in *Lau* v. *Nichols* that districts that fail to institute programs that would guarantee equal educational opportunity to all children of limited English-speaking ability are in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. To comply with the *Lau* v. *Nichols* ruling and thus to obtain relief from the noncompliance citation, districts were required to implement large-scale service programs in a short period of time. Districts often responded by rapidly expanding existing Title VII demonstration projects. This expansion has tended to dilute services and thus has had perverse effects on the more comprehensive cross-cultural bilingual models funded under Title VII. Rapid expansion has been often accomplished at the expense of adequate planning and preparation. In the typical case, it has been impossible to recruit and mobilize resources rapidly enough to meet mandated deadlines, making it necessary to heavily dilute existing programs. Staffing has been especially problematic because of the extreme shortages of qualified bilingual teachers in some regions, particularly in the Midwest and on the East Coast. In this situation, long-run benefits may be jeopardized; once a weak program has been implemented and hardening of the bureaucracies sets in, strengthening the program may be very difficult.

Other outside pressures on the project occurring after it began the operationalization phase often came from the Title VII program office. A 1971 change in Title VII regulations required that nontarget youngsters be immediately integrated into bilingual classrooms. This regulation had the effect of multiplying the linguistic needs that had to be accommodated within bilingual classrooms; the net result was an increase in the per-pupil expenditures and modifications of the instructional model. The Title VII program office occasionally exerted another post-design pressure by cutting some project budgets midway through their funding cycle. This intervention generally forced a number of design changes (e.g., the elimination of community coordinators).

In summary, school districts are particularly sensitive to outside pressures; when the operational implications of these outside pressures are at cross-purposes,

the net result for Title VII projects can be the severe dilution of project services. This situation points to the need both for the coordination of the implementation of different federal and state objectives and for the development of adaptive project implementation strategies.

V. ISSUES AFFECTING CONTINUATION

What happens at the end of Title VII funding is variable. In a few cases, "incorporation" has occurred in the sense that funding has been transferred to local sources, and the bilingual project ceases to be a separately identifiable line item in the district budget. For most Title VII projects, however, this sort of absolute incorporation has been postponed, because of the increasing availability of state bilingual funding and the opportunistic use of other external funding such as Title I and CETA.

Some districts that we visited during the course of the fieldwork anticipate as much as ten years of support from successive external funding sources. If and when these external sources are depleted, districts will have to make continuation decisions in which they evaluate the costs of bilingual education against its locally perceived merits. Efforts to continue programs with local funds will face a number of hurdles.

SPECIOUS CONDEMNATION

Supporters of bilingual education are increasingly concerned that the concept of bilingual education may be erroneously viewed as a failure because of problems with implementing programs. Projects that suffer from inadequate design, poor assessment instruments, poorly trained and largely monolingual staff, and the dilution of resources because of a need for rapid expansion of the program may be pointed to as evidence of failure of the idea of bilingual education itself.[1]

Some of these supporters feel that bilingual education will fail because there is too much emphasis on a narrowly conceived set of linguistic objectives. A commonly expressed view of attendees at the Spring 1976 Conference of the National Association for Bilingual Education was that bilingual education operates primarily through the affective domain. They claim that teaching in Spanish is useful in conveying a positive view of the minority culture, which is needed to counteract the discrimination native-born minority children, in particular, have encountered. An important implication of this view is that language learning and especially language maintenance are not considered the most important goals of bilingual programs, a view that is counter to the thrust of legislation and the courts, which tend to focus on linguistic needs. If these more narrowly conceived programs fail to obtain significant cognitive gains, as many educators expect, the door may close on cross-cultural as well as bilingual education.

PROGRAM COST

Another important factor in making continuation decisions will be the relation-

[1] Jose A. Cardenas, "The Legal Status of Bilingual Education," paper presented at the Fifth Annual International Bilingual/Bicultural Education Conference, San Antonio, Texas, May 1976.

ship of bilingual program cost to the district's fiscal situation. Bilingual programs often have relatively high recurring costs, mainly because of the intensive staffing that is necessary to meet the disparate linguistic needs of the students, or to implement a program staffed largely by monolingual teachers. These needs are exacerbated for programs that include nonminority English-dominant students (although inclusion of such students may enhance the political acceptability of incorporation).[2] Some costs may actually increase at the time of incorporation; for example, target community persons who had been content to serve as volunteers during the demonstration phases may insist on salaries.

GROWING POLITICIZATION OF CONSTITUENCIES

We found that the decision to continue a bilingual program at the end of the period of Title VII funding (even if follow-on external funding was available) was more politicized and generally more contentious than the original decision to initiate. Part of this, of course, is because continuation may involve a greater financial commitment on the part of a district, and plunges the decision into issues of priorities, long-term staffing, and hierarchical placement. But it also reflects a different environment for bilingual education, one in which bilingual education has been recognized as a right by some and an excess by others, and in which proponents and opponents have developed political acumen and determination. Bilingual education is better known now than in the earlier years of the program, and the various constituency groups have had time to develop and become politicized. Macro-pressures have increased. Recent court decisions and administrative actions have created a climate in which bilingual education is both more legitimate and politically necessary (see the Appendix for a discussion of these decisions and actions).

In none of the districts visited by Rand did a nontarget constituency present organized resistance initially. However, in a number of districts there has been a growing resistance that can be best described as a reactionary backlash. In some cases, school boards have voted to return Title VII funds, prompting suits by target constituency groups. Often the period of crisis has occurred at the end of the first term of Title VII, state, or local funding. We have observed that such community resistance is greatest when the target constituency is established, politicized, and/or relatively large.

The resistance by some community segments to bilingual education (especially the cross-cultural aspects) is increasing as they more fully come to understand the sociopolitical implications, such as socialization and unification of the minority community and the increased participation of minorities in school governance; these are implications that some minority community activists have used to advantage. For people who represent the majority population it must be especially galling to realize that they are paying extra for a program that tends to diminish their influence.

In one district, the project director is preparing for nontarget constituency opposition to continuation by aggressively developing a countervailing target constituency. His approach is to stimulate the target community's awareness of its

[2] John Molina, "The National Thrust in Bilingual Education," paper presented at the Fifth Annual International Bilingual/Bicultural Education Conference, San Antonio, Texas, May 1976.

political potential in general and of the project's worth in particular. To this end he engages in many activities not directly related to educational purposes, much to the distaste of some district officials. He is running personal professional risk, but feels that if he is successful, the school board will not try to discontinue the program after Title VII funding ends. He is also adamant about discouraging future funding from any but local sources.

In pursuing his community-oriented strategy, the project director is taking the lead in what appears to be a growing appreciation among educators that political constituencies tend to promote continuation, and that educators should be political advocates as well. For bilingual education in particular this seems to be a viable lever because bilingual projects seek changes that are easy to understand and that can be readily linked to political issues.

FAULTY INCORPORATION PLANNING

If externally funded bilingual projects should lose their state or federal funds, they might face decline. Projects might achieve incorporation only to face deterioration after being absorbed into the district structure because of failures to carefully plan for such absorption. Institutionalization may be more than a change in who pays; it often shifts program management from the district's special programs division to the regular instructional division. The instructional division may lack experience in managing bilingual education programs. There may also be no one who is strongly committed to and identified with the program. A bilingual staff position ensures a constant advocate and overseer.

One of the Title VII sites we visited dealt explicitly with this problem by anticipating the transition to regular instruction as early as the initial proposal for funding. The staff of the regular instruction division had the responsibility for the original program design in order to assure that it would incorporate smoothly with the regular instruction program; this staff then prepared the initial proposal for federal funding. The special programs division coordinated the proposal preparation and administered the program when funding was granted. Toward the end of federal funding, the regular instruction division began to take on increasing responsibility for the project, especially in the areas of curriculum and scheduling. The roles of the project director and his staff increasingly became those of expediters, at least in theory. For the Title VII project at this site, this changeover process was accidentally facilitated when the project director was promoted, leaving the project in the hands of acting management during the final year of Title VII funding.

Although bilingual education addresses important educational needs, acceptance of such programs is far from certain. In view of the fact that some districts oppose such programs, complete incorporation into the regular school curriculum should not necessarily be the goal of federal funding; in some cases, incorporation may provide the opportunity to cover up watering down a project or even its eventual demise. Unless there is some assurance of commitment among all relevant district actors or evidence of a particularly vigilant constituency, continued status as a special program might be a preferable alternative despite the danger that this would make the project an easier target for deletion when money gets tight.

Continued special status was anticipated in one district where the attitude

seemed to be that the regular instruction division, particularly at the school-building level, was too burdened by logistical tasks to properly administer special programs, including bilingual education. The feeling was that such programs need advocates who can monitor their special needs and effectively cut through district protocol and red tape. In this district, many special educational programs will remain the responsibility of the special program division after federal funding terminates. It should be noted, however, that some teachers seemed close to revolt because of the many special programs over which they or their principals have little operational control; the large number of pullout programs makes it difficult to organize coordinated classroom programs.

VI. CONCLUSION

The preceding sections have described the central elements involved in implementing and sustaining the bilingual projects that we visited. The discussion was organized around a temporal scheme that categorizes the process in terms of phases and the decisions that characterize each. Political influences were characterized as having pervasive effects in all phases. This understanding of the local process of implementation suggests a variety of implications for policymakers. Because our focus has been primarily at the local level, and has not been directed toward a program evaluation of Title VII, we are not in a position to assess the bureaucratic and operational feasibilities of specific policy options at state, regional, and national levels. Accordingly, we will make general suggestions about the directions policy modifications might take rather than offer detailed policy recommendations.

This section will present a summary of the significant aspects of the local context of bilingual education, followed by a discussion of some implications for federal Title VII policy.

CONTEXT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

In trying to understand the broader context in which bilingual education is implemented in classrooms, four aspects stand out: political complexity, educational parochialism, shortages of critical resources, and enormous variability across sites in these dimensions.

Political Complexity

Bilingual education innovation has created debate and raised political issues to a much greater extent than any of the other change agent programs included in the Rand study. In fact, few educational innovations raise so many questions about the basic goals and outcomes of public education.[1]

Three important aspects of this political complexity are discussed below.

Variable Support. Strength of support for bilingual education is much greater and more consistent at the national than at local levels. Two factors contribute significantly to this disparity. One is the nature of constituency pressure felt at the two levels. The other relates to the difference between the roles and priorities of national and local policymakers.

Consistent and organized constituency pressures for bilingual education have emanated from the national and regional levels. Policymakers at the national level are generally sensitive to constituency demands. These pressures have found response in steadily increasing legislative and judicial support. In contrast, local constituency pressures have varied greatly from district to district in terms of intensity, consistency (i.e., pressure in some localities has been very episodic), and

[1] An analogous and often closely related issue is school desegregation. Desegregation raises questions about what constitutes equal education and the obligations of schools to address larger social issues.

timing. The response to these pressures by school district staffs has been variable. In many districts, bilingual education has found itself only superficially welcome, a threat to established notions of the role of public education, and in competition with priorities of budget, staffing, and organization. In a few districts with a history of opposition to innovation, it took outside pressures in the form of community organizations or media campaigns to force the districts to accept bilingual education.

Many school administrators are opposed to bilingual education. Some opposition may be personal politics, but it also could be an expression of their budget and organization orientation; it should not be surprising that an innovation that poses such disruption to established budget and staffing priorities should inspire administrative recalcitrance.

We found frequent resistance toward bilingual projects among regular staff, particularly during the initial phases. The resistance generally reflects differences in opinion about the worth of bilingual education as compared with the simpler ESL approach, but also mirrors real or imagined threats to the job security of monolingual staff.

In response to felt resistance (and perhaps as part of a more general trend toward teacher militancy), there is a movement toward increased politicization among professional bilingual educators; they are actively mobilizing support among local constituencies as well as among their school district colleagues. In past years, teachers exhibited more reticence, either because positions of advocacy were considered to be occupationally hazardous, or because they thought that as professionals they should attend only to their areas of educational expertise.

Multiagency Involvement. The OBE is by no means the only agency involved with bilingual education. Other state and federal agencies have acted to legitimate and extend the influence of bilingual education through such activities as classroom services, training programs, technical assistance, and compliance enforcement. During the 1974-75 school year, for example, California school districts received funding for Spanish-language bilingual projects from five different state agencies and four different federal agencies.[2] Opportunistic districts attempt to design and implement consistent programs with support from different funding sources, but with varying success; the agencies have differing guidelines with respect to participant eligibility, supported services, and types of educational activities allowed.

A number of states, including most of those with concentrations of limited-English speakers, have mandated widespread bilingual education through legislation. As bilingual education grows increasingly legitimate, the trend to legislate its enactment is likely to continue. However, the state mandates typically call for programs that are strictly transitional, and only in the early primary grades. This has resulted in the dilution of many existing Title VII projects. Another troubling aspect of state legislation is that enforcement is not uniform. Some states have mandated bilingual education but have not provided money for classrooms; state agencies are reluctant to press sanctions when school districts claim lack of funds. As districts become aware that this is the case, they exercise more resistance.

A number of federal agencies are involved in bilingual education. The Bureau of Indian Affairs supports classroom services with Johnson-O'Malley and Indian

[2] See California State Assembly, Special Subcommittee on Bilingual-Bicultural Education, *Toward Meaningful and Equal Educational Opportunity: Report of Public Hearings on Bilingual-Bicultural Education*, Sacramento, Calif., July 1976.

Education Act funds. The Equal Educational Opportunities Program, whose main thrust is assisting school desegregation, provides classroom services with ESEA funding and technical assistance through Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (CRA). Title I and Title I Migrant (both ESEA) monies are used by districts for bilingual instruction.

In its role as enforcer of compliance to Title VI (CRA), the Office of Civil Rights influences (sometimes at cross-purposes) the activities of all agencies that fund bilingual services. A number of districts cited by the OCR for noncompliance had previously implemented intensive but limited bilingual programs that do not meet the *Lau* v. *Nichols* standards for equity. Meeting these standards has required rapid implementation of large-scale programs, and some districts have responded by borrowing heavily from existing Title VII projects, causing resources to be spread very thin. Although OCR citations have been very effective in moving reluctant school districts to address the needs of limited-English speakers, actual compliance enforcement has nevertheless been uneven because of the OCR's limited staff. Furthermore, administrative enforcement proceedings leading to termination of federal funding have rarely been instituted.

Political Influences on Project Implementation. Bilingual education as an educational innovation is affected by a substantial number of noneducational influences. These political influences—administrative, constituency, and outside agency—manifest themselves in various ways throughout the implementation process. They are discussed below.

Initiation Phase. The initiation decision in the projects we studied was generally made without constituency pressures. In a substantial number of the districts we visited, the fact that federal funds for bilingual programs were available through Title VII made the decision about whether to have a program obvious. Administrators showed little concern about future funding and long-term staffing implications of bilingual programs. Target and nontarget constituencies were generally not aroused.

These rather benign initiation decisions probably reflected more than anything else a lack of experience with bilingual education as a political issue in the early years. The much more contentious nature of the continuation decision in a number of these projects suggests that future initiation decisions may be much more hard-fought. Both target and nontarget constituencies have begun to understand the implications of bilingual education programs and have organized to put forth their views.

At the same time, outside agencies have become more active in promoting bilingual education in recent years. Although their enforcement efforts may be limited, their strong stance may predispose local administrators toward initiating bilingual education programs.

Design Phase. In the design phase, major influences are felt from outside agencies; some internal constituency influences may also be present. Regulatory influences generally take the form of regulations and limits, and usually constrain design choices. For example, Title VII requires that bilingual projects serve students of all racial and linguistic groups. The need to teach Spanish to monolingual English speakers decreases the amount of resources available to the project; it may also constrain the choice of an instructional model.

Local constituencies are generally not active in this phase. One reason is that the decisions are educational, and local constituencies lack educational expertise. Design decisions are also less visible; they are usually made by people who are actively involved in the delivery of educational services and who were not involved in the initiation decision. Finally, target constituencies may feel no particular need to monitor design decisions—the goal they sought was establishment of a bilingual education program; a decision to initiate satisfied their demands.

Internal constituencies may be more active in the design phase. Being trained professionals, they have the educational expertise to be effectively involved. We saw little active opposition among the many regular staff who opposed the program. However, their known opposition often constrained design decisions; designers felt they could not propose major changes, for example, scheduling, if most of the regular staff were not supportive.

Operationalization Phase. In the operationalization phase, we saw strong regulatory influences. Demands by outside agencies to redesign and greatly expand programs very quickly were highly disruptive and in one case nearly destroyed an effective although limited bilingual program. Such intervention may well continue for some time; the various agencies concerned with bilingual education have yet to establish boundaries on their respective influences.

Getting a program into operation has the potential for arousing renewed constituency resistance. We saw little of this; most teachers who were opposed to the program expressed their resistance from the beginning, and community resistance was generally not yet organized, as discussed above.

Continuation Phase. The point at which a continuation decision is considered is when the many political influences that affect bilingual education come into prominence. The uniqueness of bilingual education as an educational innovation is most apparent in the continuation phase.

Unlike most other educational innovations, the impetus for bilingual education has not been exclusively or even dominantly professional. Legislative and judicial mandates and national and occasionally local constituencies have been major factors in its growth, development, and legitimation as an educational movement at the national level.

These same influences are important in its continuation. The presence and strength of these noneducational interests explain our Phase I finding that bilingual education programs are likely to be continued in the absence of perceived success; these influences combine to create a force for bilingual education that is vigilant against its demise.

Yet we also observed increasing strength and organization among groups opposed to bilingual education. Nontarget constituency backlash at the local level has resulted in the return of federal bilingual funds by several districts. Although the number of districts that have returned funds is small, it is significant in pointing out the potential for increased opposition in the future.

Educational Parochialism

Viewed solely as an educational innovation, bilingual education is parochial. Compared with the other educational innovations included in the Rand study, bilin-

gual education generally is traditional and noninnovative in its delivery methods at the classroom level. We saw, for example, few instances of learning centers, open classrooms, or use of diagnostic-prescriptive methods. Where we did see frequent innovative practices, they were a response to lack of resources; for example, team teaching models were used when there were not enough bilingual teachers. Rarely did we see innovative techniques included in a project design when sufficient resources existed to develop more traditional approaches.

This lack of innovation is interesting and somewhat surprising; in many respects, the design problems inherent in bilingual education programs would seem to suggest innovative approaches.

For example, diagnostic-prescriptive techniques and individualization of instruction would seem to be useful responses to the enormous diversity of linguistic skills that some projects face.

At the same time, the apparent parochialism is understandable and often multidetermined; the political influences affecting bilingual education are often felt indirectly in a way that constrains innovation.

One of the major reasons for lack of educational innovation is that many people do not view bilingual education as an educational innovation beyond the use of two languages and the introduction of multicultural curriculum elements. Bilingual programs are often a response to constituency or agency pressures that are predicated on clear educational needs. Teaching in two languages seems the clear (and often only necessary) response; meeting this need by deciding to have a program may preclude concern with innovative delivery methods.

Another factor that often promotes parochialism is the political nature of some initiation decisions. In a few of the projects we saw, the initiation decision pitted aroused target constituencies against reluctant or hostile district administrators; one result was that a decision to have a program became an end in itself. When victory came in the decision to have a program, proponents often felt the battle was over. The highly politicized nature of the decisions eclipsed the educational aspects; the result was relative neglect of the subsequent task of project design.

Traditionalism may also be a self-conscious strategy to avoid attracting attention to a program that may be unpopular in many quarters. Self-contained classrooms operating on standard schedules are less visible than open classrooms; innovative classroom practices may persuade nontarget parents that target children are receiving an enrichment program denied to their children. We saw no such self-conscious strategy, although more traditional approaches were often chosen to minimize opposition from already hostile nonparticipant teachers who might be inconvenienced by scheduling or other major changes. Such strategies may become more common in the future as nontarget constituencies become stronger.

Some of the parochialism we saw was the result of lack of experience with bilingual education. Designers of the early programs were often ESL teachers or foreign language specialists who lacked experience in the design of innovative full-curriculum classroom-based programs. There was little search outside the district. Most people felt they should rely on information from district people who at least knew the local situation. This tendency was reinforced by the belief that the state of the art outside the district was undeveloped. There is a growing trend toward more widespread search; most projects have used curriculum centers, and project staff often know and exchange ideas with bilingual people in nearby districts.

Some designers feel that innovative approaches at the classroom level are inappropriate for target children. Open classrooms and individualized instruction are felt to be inconsistent with the cultural background of these children; structural and traditional approaches are more educationally sound. Not all designers agree. Some have not thought of innovation as being culturally inconsistent, and others argue that innovation can and should be used to address some of the elements of Hispanic culture that often pose problems for children in regular classrooms; for example, small groups may allow leaders to emerge who might be silent in a regular classroom setting.

Project adaptation was common during the operationalization phase, but innovation was not. A number of projects reacted to obvious problems by cutting back on scope, for example, reducing the program to serve kindergarten through 3rd grade rather than kindergarten through 6th grade or reorganizing project management. In general, classroom-level problems were not immediately apparent, and therefore innovative solutions at the classroom level were not adopted. Aside from teacher or materials shortages, which were often anticipated during design, failures of the model curriculum or project implementation were only beginning to emerge some years later. Whether these problems will be addressed with innovative solutions depends on whether they are perceived as problems by the staff or engage the attention of opponents; whether the factors that initially promoted parochialism have changed; and whether enough organizational slack (e.g., extra teachers or classrooms) exists to allow innovative solutions to be implemented.

Resource Shortages

The projects we observed, which were funded during the early years of Title VII, generally suffered from an apparent lack of critical educational resources, particularly materials, staff, and models. Practitioners felt these resource shortages most in the design phase, where shortages often pose severe design constraints. As discussed in Sec. V, the resource situation has generally improved. Newly funded projects have not experienced the same design constraints faced by earlier projects. One reason is that resource shortages are less severe; for example, Spanish curriculum materials are more widely available. Equally important, practitioners have learned to deal better with shortages.

Resource shortages still vary across regions and language groups. Generally, an abundance of one resource may help compensate for deficiencies in others. For example, in some districts in the Southwest, the presence of large numbers of bilingual teachers has facilitated the implementation of bilingual programs. Lack of funds for materials, which might have severely debilitated a project that lacked bilingual teachers as well, has been much less of a problem in these districts.

All projects we visited suffer from a lack of teachers who have had training in bilingual education. Title VII has recently moved to remedy this situation by providing funds to universities and individuals to develop and attend programs in bilingual instruction. However, Title VII does not specify standards with regard to expected skill levels at completion. There is some concern that without such articulated and uniform objectives, a cadre of "trained" personnel who lack necessary skills and sensitivities will enter and dominate programs. This in turn might create a situation in which critics could point to program failures as evidence of the failure

of the idea of bilingual education, when failures might be more appropriately attributed to poorly prepared "trained" personnel.

Most projects reported difficulty in locating commercially developed materials appropriate to their needs. Some experts have suggested that a sufficiently broad range of materials exists in Spanish and French; perceived inappropriateness of these materials may reflect lack of staff skills and sophistication rather than materials problems. Programs targeted to other languages unquestionably suffer from materials shortages. Although materials in these languages are being developed, the small number of potential users means that commercialization is unlikely. More aggressive and coordinated efforts to produce and disseminate these materials are needed. National exploitation of local materials development efforts should be particularly encouraged.

In the early years of Title VII, the OE did not provide guidance in the form of instructional models. This presented particular problems in regions such as the Midwest where creative models are necessary to overcome problems of shortages in other resources, particularly staff. The OBE is now taking an active role in model development. Concurrently, some local development of models appropriate to the needs and resource levels of particular regions is also occurring.[3] However, as we have suggested, availability cannot presume use by practitioners; the use of these models is still an open question.

Variability across Sites

Bilingual programs develop and exist in districts that differ markedly in terms of demographics, needs, LEA readiness, and level of politicization of target and nontarget constituencies.

Important target-group demographic dimensions include relative socioeconomic status, residential patterns, and size. Both the absolute and relative number of students who are eligible for and included in a bilingual program have important political and project design implications. In several large districts, the percentage of students who would be involved in a proposed bilingual program was so small that the program met almost no resistance. Where this proportion is large, resistance may be more likely.

Linguistic needs vary substantially across projects. A project may serve some mix of the following levels: students who are monolingual in English, those who are monolingual in a language other than English, those who can communicate reasonably well in both languages, and those who have difficulty communicating in either. These needs, and traditional LEA response (or nonresponse) to these needs, may in turn foster a variety of behavioral and nonlinguistic cognitive needs. In addition, a growing number of educators are viewing self-concept needs (that may or may not correlate with linguistic needs) as a legitimate focus of bilingual projects.

Although the level of LEA readiness may be independent of needs, it is a significant part of the context in which bilingual policy operates. The notion of bilingual education as a national education priority is fairly new, dating back fewer than ten years. The sense of acceptability, let alone priority, is filtering down to the LEAs at different rates.

[3] See, for example, W. Katra, W. Cline, and A. Bartrina-Camps McCoy, "Bilingual Instruction in Michigan and the Midwest," paper presented at the Fifth Annual International Bilingual/Bicultural Conference, San Antonio, Texas, May 1976.

Target and nontarget constituencies are variously vocal and organized. Involvement of target constituencies in decisionmaking has generally increased over the course of development of bilingual programs. Nontarget constituencies often organize even later in counterresponse to the program, and especially in response to the growing organization and involvement of target constituencies.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS FOR FEDERAL BILINGUAL POLICY

Notwithstanding frequent local demand, bilingual education probably would never have gotten off the ground as a grassroots movement. It took federal intervention to show that the system could and should address the linguistic needs of children with limited English-speaking abilities. Court and legislative mandates have been essential to the legitimation of such a completely new educational concept.

Title VII has had enormous influence at the macro-level in shaping bilingual education policy priorities, in arousing constituencies, in stimulating state and local funding, and in developing a cadre of bilingual education leaders. Its effect at the micro-level has been weaker. It has been less successful in developing and disseminating viable models of bilingual education, in producing personnel who have been trained to teach in bilingual education programs, and in capitalizing on the vast materials development efforts that have been undertaken at the local level.

The increasing involvement of other agencies suggests that it might be appropriate for the OBE staff to reevaluate its role in advancing bilingual education, perhaps to place greater emphasis on those areas where it has relative advantage. In particular, the OBE should continue its present direction toward national capacity building, particularly teacher training, materials packaging and dissemination, and models identification and development. In addition, the OBE should assume more leadership in developing coordination among the various pieces of legislation that affect bilingual education, and among the agencies that administer that legislation.[4]

With respect to its direct interaction with district bilingual projects, there are two areas that need particular focus by the OBE: accommodation of the varying needs of different localities, and realistic planning for local project continuation.

Focus on Accommodating Varying Needs

Notwithstanding their value in shaping the course of national reform, federal mandates are often neither selective nor sensitive with respect to local differences, and in some circumstances may actually be counterproductive. Regional and local characteristics affect the extent to which government interventions facilitate or interfere with project implementation. These regional and local characteristics also change over time, which suggests that the timing as well as the selectiveness of interventions should be of concern.

Target groups, project needs, and project designs vary substantially across districts and regions. Many respondents felt that OBE staff persons were only remotely aware of the special needs encountered in their regions or districts. Some project

[4] The OE has established the Bilingual Education Coordination Council, chaired by the OBE's director, to coordinate bilingual education activities within the OE.

personnel, especially those who had strong SEA support or substantial local resources, were satisfied with this arrangement because it left them freer to shape projects to the local will. But most projects, and particularly those with fewer on-site resources, would prefer more help and guidance. Eastern and midwestern projects frequently expressed concern over the program's traditional focus on the West and Southwest in terms of materials, funds, and models; they generally felt that the unique needs of the East and Midwest were not well accommodated.

Dealing with this problem of varying local needs raises complex program issues for federal policy. Although we have not systematically analyzed these issues, we can suggest some federal approaches that would be consistent with the realities of local implementation.

One approach to addressing varying local needs might be through a modified administrative posture, such as more intensive site monitoring or decentralization of the management of Title VII classroom services. Possible decentralization options might include adopting the Title I strategy of working through the SEAs, or working through the regional HEW offices. Working relationships between project staff and the SEAs are generally better than with the federal program office. Respondents generally felt that the SEA staff had a better sense of the regional and local problems they faced.

Notwithstanding the benefit that would accrue to local project implementation, decentralization would have other important ramifications that would have to be carefully studied before adopting such an approach. In particular, without careful planning, the OBE would lose substantial control over the use of Title VII funds. Also, additional management costs might be high.

Another approach that is consistent with (but not necessarily dependent on) decentralization would be the development of policies that allow for flexible funding and implementation of Title VII projects.

Some flexibility currently exists, but is not used to advantage. For example, new Title VII regulations allow the funding period of projects to be variable. However, the maximum funded period for the 1975 funding awards was five years, the same duration as was implicit under previous policy. Some projects with serious needs, few resources, and local resistance may need more time. Although it is true that projects may be allowed to renegotiate at the end of the five-year period, there may be strong advantages in making the longer funding period explicit so that projects will feel secure in implementing long-term capacity-building strategies that may have relatively small short-term rewards.

In addition to flexibility in the length of funding, local implementation might benefit from more flexible administration of existing guidelines and regulations. For example, projects in regions suffering scarcities of qualified teachers have special difficulties in establishing stable, place-oriented, bilingual staffs; additional funding for local training might be granted for this purpose. Or, the recommended composition of PACs might be allowed to vary depending on the capabilities of project parents to contribute to project policymaking; localities where viable parent participation is precluded by basic socialization needs might be encouraged to apply for additional funding, which Title VII provides for that type of capacity building. To improve the long-term persistence of bilingual projects, OBE personnel might encourage project personnel to design projects with higher or lower profiles, depending on the particular political contexts of their district. Finally, there may be instances

where overall project objectives would be better served by admitting only target youngsters into the program, at least temporarily, despite the separatist implications. Title VII regulations do permit part-day segregation in "unusual" cases, but some educators have argued that circumstances sometimes warrant even more segregation (e.g., full days over a several-month period).

Greater coordination among federal and state agencies would also be desirable. In addition to the conflicts between programmatic and regulatory concerns, the guidelines and objectives of different bilingual programs often are not complementary. For example, districts have difficulty in establishing an integrated bilingual program because of inconsistencies in target populations and the type of educational services provided by different state and federal programs.

Title VII also suffers from more general problems endemic to most federal social programs. There is some irony in the fact that legislation directed at expediting educational change often aggravates the orderly process of that change. Such mandates move the expectations of constituencies in quantum leaps, and legal avenues are opened through which their expectations can be expressed (court orders, OCR investigations, etc.). The capabilities of districts to operationalize these mandates may advance more slowly. The result is that instead of being able to plot strategies that pace educational change to realistic resource mobilization schedules, district administrators may find themselves presiding over a change process that is actually a series of tactical maneuvers and holding actions.

Focus on Continuation

Most Title VII projects have received additional state funding or federal funding from Title VII or other sources after the initial Title VII funding ended. Therefore, the question of continuation in the sense of district assumption of project costs has been moot. However, most of this follow-up funding is characterized by more thinly distributed program services. Accordingly, the conventional continuation question —what happens politically and educationally after federal funding is terminated— needs to be formulated differently; that is, what happens politically and educationally when concentrated programs are replaced by programs that are considerably less intensive?

Modified Funding and Design. During the period of Title VII funding, most projects do not anticipate or prepare for the modified funding position they will face after these funds end. A switch from maintenance to transition level often requires new models, procedures, and new definitions of the participant group, and frequently the needs for resources and support within the district also increase. Many of these problems could have been ameliorated had project planning and design during the Title VII years self-consciously anticipated and addressed problems associated with long-term funding patterns.

Bilingual programs are often expensive because of the high recurring costs of bilingual aides, who may represent a large share of the project staff. Adoption of a model that prescribes decreased reliance on aides over the Title VII funding period would smooth the continuation period markedly. Some approaches to the problem have been intensive training of aides, which has led to their certification as teachers; adoption of team teaching models that require fewer bilingual staff; and establishment of district policies to hire bilingual teachers when vacancies occur.

Another continuation problem is the availability of materials. Given the reduced budgets of transitional programs, curricula have had to be replaced in toto in some cases because the curriculum used during Title VII funding relied heavily on consumables. Early concern with continuation has led projects to invest in nonconsumable materials, to train teachers in materials development, or to put pressure on states to include bilingual texts on state approved lists, thereby enabling projects to purchase materials with nondiscretionary funds.

OBE staff should promote more concern at the local level with such long-term design questions. Title VII guidelines, for example, might require some evidence of explicit planning that anticipates the implications of follow-on funding.

Project Management. As discussed in Sec. V, another continuation issue is project management strategy. In some districts, incorporation into existing structures may be the best course, while in others the increased visibility afforded by a new administrative structure might be a better approach. The OBE might be useful in helping projects to consider this decision and weigh the various alternatives available in their particular settings. Project personnel generally reported satisfaction with those Title VII consultants who provided aid in organizing initial project administration, and projects would likely be responsive to consultation on management strategies for continuation. Again, the OBE might require that applicants give thought to the future administrative location of the bilingual program and present strategies or goals for long-term project administration and direction.

Prognosis for the Future of Bilingual Education. Many educators are expressing an overriding concern about future support for bilingual education. They fear that the frequently indifferent cognitive outcomes of existing projects may cause bilingual education to be viewed as a failure by policymakers, but for the wrong reasons. According to some, bilingual education is being wrongly judged on the basis of poorly implemented or underfunded projects; they expect the situation to be exacerbated by underskilled teachers reportedly emerging from many of the training programs funded by Title VII. Other educators feel that bilingual education may be misjudged on the basis of projects that, in their view, are premised on the wrong model of how bilingual schooling contributes to cognitive gain. In their view, the route to cognitive gains is through the affective area, and bilingual programs should therefore have cross-cultural emphases; the use of the native language for instruction is merely a part of this emphasis. If this view is valid, the bilingual education idea may indeed suffer, for Title VII is one of the few funding sources that encourages cross-cultural education. Many legislative and judicial actions, hence most bilingual programs, have focused narrowly on linguistic needs.

The OBE could forestall these outcomes by advocating that priorities be set in the directions already discussed in this section, especially strengthening project implementation, recommending standards for exit skills of teachers in bilingual training programs, and coordinating efforts among agencies involved in bilingual education. In addition, the OBE should encourage basic research that seeks to identify the linkages between bilingual schooling, affective development, and cognitive learning.

Appendix

POLITICAL INFLUENCES OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION

FEDERAL LEGISLATION

Besides Title VII, two federal laws that concern equality of educational opportunity have a direct bearing on bilingual education—the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Educational Opportunities Act (EEOA) of 1974. Under the CRA, contracts between the federal government and recipients of federal grants stipulate that the recipient school district will not practice discrimination on the basis of ethnic group or sex. Discrimination constitutes a breach of contract, and may result in loss of all federal funds. The OCR has been given statutory authority to develop review procedures and monitor compliance. On the basis of *Lau* v. *Nichols*, the OCR has interpreted Title VI of the CRA to mean that failure of a school district to make special provisions for children of limited-English-speaking ability constitutes discrimination.

The EEOA of 1974 is more specific in addressing itself to children of limited-English-speaking ability. This act provides that failure of an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers constitutes denial of equal educational opportunity. An individual denied equal educational opportunity as defined by the EEOA may institute a civil action.

Title VII Program History and Description

A federal bilingual program was established in 1968, authorized by Title VII of ESEA. Congress intended the Title VII program to test the effectiveness of bilingual education approaches through research or pilot projects. The OE spent the first five years of the program taking initial steps in formulating the philosophy and objectives of bilingual education, developing curricula for numerous language groups and many grade levels, providing in-service training for teachers, devising new assessment techniques, and stimulating interest among the LEAs and SEAs.

Like other ESEA titles, the Title VII legislation did not clearly articulate a philosophy of bilingual education, specific objectives, or strategies for achieving these objectives. The law was vague concerning the substance of the educational programs envisioned, stating only that the program was "to provide financial assistance to LEAs to develop and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet [the] special educational needs" of children of limited-English-speaking ability in the United States. The law did not specify what the "special educational needs" were and thus gave no hint about what expected student outcomes should be. Because of this legislative ambiguity, the specific operational characteristics of the program had to be worked out within HEW.

During the first year, effective implementation of the program was impeded by the absence of any advocate in the OE who had clear ideas about desirable program policies and who had the power and commitment to implement these ideas. Title VII

was not an important priority in the OE. An independent program office was not created, and a permanent director was not assigned for over a year. No one within the OE had both the interest in the program and the power to create a favorable organizational structure and assemble a capable staff for the program.

The results were telling. The initial program guidelines scarcely went beyond the language in the legislation. The Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education task force, which was appointed to review previous work in the field and to recommend an initial direction for the program, spent little time discussing subtleties of various philosophies of bilingual education and concentrated on the mechanics of generating and evaluating proposals. One reason was time: The task force, appointed in late 1968, had to work quickly in order to fund projects in fiscal year 1969.

The second year of operation was somewhat more successful. In particular, a number of special projects such as dissemination centers were funded. However, not much thought was given to how each of the new endeavors might relate to each other and to the existing projects, and how the second-year strategy would fit into an overall long-range program strategy.

By the third year, 1971, the program had achieved more conceptual clarity and had published a major revision in the program manual. The manual supports the maintenance philosophy of bilingual education, and argues for the equality of the two languages and cultures in the program. At the same time, the transitional approach is acknowledged where the manual recognizes that there are legitimate alternatives to the equal time approach: teaching largely in the child's dominant language with one or two subjects taught in English; and a fortified ESL approach, where one or two subjects are taught in the child's dominant language. The manual also provides informal funding guidelines, including the vertical growth policy.

Still, the program continued to rely on the imagination and ability of individual project staffs in the LEAs to develop good ideas into model programs. Program staff did not think systematically about how federal dollars would affect a larger audience than the funded projects, or what effect would be desirable.

During these three years, no federal funds were provided to the states under Title VII to build up SEA capabilities in bilingual education. The Title VII office had no specific plan for working with the SEAs. Therefore, states with strong offices (financed from other sources) could work more closely with Title VII and were often more successful in winning funds.

1974 Title VII Revisions

In 1974, Title VII legislation was amended. These amendments codified the outcomes of discussions that had gone on for several years within HEW regarding appropriate Title VII operating characteristics. This revision, among other things, created the OBE within the OE. It also abolished the income-ceiling specification of the 1968 act. The amendments extended the bilingual education program through fiscal year 1978 and considerably increased program funding. An array of activities was mandated in an attempt to reduce bilingual education resource shortages. A capacity-building policy was formulated that emphasized teacher training, development of instructional approaches, and funding of the SEAs. For example, the legislation considerably expanded the OE's role in the training of bilingual education teachers. The law now provides that colleges can receive direct grants or contracts

and individuals can receive fellowships to learn to train teachers for bilingual education programs. The LEAs are also required, as of school year 1976-77, to expend 15 percent of their grant funds on training. The amendments underscore the importance of appropriate instructional materials. The law directs the OE and the National Institute of Education to "develop and disseminate instructional materials and equipment suitable for use in bilingual education programs."[1]

Local Attitudes toward Title VII

The federal Title VII program is felt by many local project personnel to be only remotely aware of project needs. Projects from all regions complained that turnover among project monitors is too high to establish adequate understanding of the needs of particular sites.

Working relationships with the SEAs are typically better than with the federal program office, although the SEAs only recently began to receive money from Title VII. The SEA role depends largely on its own initiative, and varies from lending advice and recommending technical consultants to organizing site visits and regional workshops, and often at its own expense.

The new regulations may address some of the problems. As noted above, funds now go to state administration, which should help to develop the capabilities of states to provide assistance to bilingual education projects. Such funds will also provide advocates at the state level in states that are less financially committed to bilingual education. Targeting of funds to training and materials development should also increase capacity level.

COURT RULINGS

Court rulings in a number of cases reinforce the thrust of federal legislation and establish a legal basis for bilingual education. Among the most important are 1973 *Serna* v. *Portales (New Mexico)* and 1974 *Lau* v. *Nichols*.

In *Serna* v. *Portales*, the court found the Portales school district to be in violation of Title VI of the CRA of 1964 for having failed to institute a program that would guarantee equal educational opportunity to children of limited-English-speaking ability. In one of the strongest statements made by a court on the subject, the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals stated, "Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, children of limited English-speaking ability have a right to bilingual education."

Perhaps the most famous and influential court case dealing with children of limited-English-speaking ability was the San Francisco case of *Lau* v. *Nichols*. The case was filed in 1974 on behalf of some 1800 children in the San Francisco Unified School District whose dominant language was Chinese. These children were not receiving any special educational assistance in spite of their limited ability to speak and understand English. In a decision rendered by Justice Douglas, the U.S. Supreme Court in a unanimous decision found the San Francisco Unified School District in violation of Title VI of the CRA of 1964. The court did not stipulate the remedies required of the school district to rectify the situation, although it suggested

[1] Comptroller General, *Bilingual Education*, op. cit.

that teaching English to students of Chinese ancestry or providing instruction to this group largely in Chinese were two acceptable approaches.

The landmark *Lau* v. *Nichols* decision has provided a reference point for several more recent court cases. It was largely responsible for the 1974 *Aspira* v. *New York* consent decree calling for bilingual education to meet the educational needs of Puerto Rican and other Hispanic school children in New York City.

ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIONS

The OCR has issued two important memoranda pertaining directly to the education of children of limited-English-speaking ability. In a memorandum to all school districts dated May 25, 1970, the Director of the OCR, J. Stanley Pottinger, took the position that school systems discriminate on the basis of national origin if they use English as the basic language of instruction and provide no special assistance to non-English-speaking students (where such students comprise a significant portion of the system's enrollment).

By revising its interpretation of Title VI of the CRA to be consistent with *Lau* v. *Nichols*, the OCR has given the *Lau* ruling national prominence. In the summer of 1975, the OCR issued another memorandum, commonly referred to as the *Lau* remedies, which outlines special provisions for the identification of children of limited-English-speaking ability and prescribes educational programs for elementary school children who are monolingual in a language other than English or who are predominantly speakers of a language other than English. The *Lau* remedies hold school districts accountable for children with English-language proficiency, but who may have at one time been of limited-English-speaking ability, by requiring diagnostic-prescriptive measures for such children who are currently underachieving. Other provisions of the *Lau* remedies deal with children of limited-English-speaking ability in secondary schools and address issues of student placement, parental communication, curricular and co-curricular offerings, and reporting and evaluation requirements.

The *Lau* remedies were considered by many districts to constitute a requirement that bilingual education be implemented. However, the OCR in a 1976 clarification allowed that its guidelines do not require a *bilingual* program to be in compliance with *Lau*, a position that is consistent with the Supreme Court's position. What the OCR does say is that bilingual education is one way to meet the *Lau* requirement. The *Lau* remedies are only guidelines used by the OCR to assess the acceptability of a district's plan, which is required when a district is cited for noncompliance.

Although OCR activity in the bilingual area has been very effective in moving reticent school districts to address the needs of limited-English-speaking students, compliance enforcement has been spotty because of the OCR's limited staff. As districts have become aware of this infrequent enforcement, they feel less threatened by the prospect of a noncompliance citation.

STATE LEGISLATION

As of 1975, state legislators in approximately 30 of the 50 states and 3 territories

had enacted legislation pertinent to bilingual education. Eight of these states plus Puerto Rico have mandatory provisions that require schools to offer a bilingual education program to children of limited-English-speaking ability, provided there are enough students in a language group. The remainder of the 30 states allow the LEAs to offer a bilingual education program, but only 7 of these provide funds.[2]

The legislative prescriptions for bilingual education differ among the various states, but most of the programs prescribed by state laws are transitional programs that provide instruction in the dominant language along with instruction in English, the goal being to achieve competence in English.

Massachusetts was the first state that mandated bilingual education, and its Transitional Bilingual Education law has served as a model for state legislation. It mandates (with parental consent) three years of bilingual education for children of limited-English-speaking ability if 20 or more such students of the same dominant language attend a school district. A 15 to 1 student-teacher ratio, or at most a 20 to 1 ratio if there is a classroom aide, is required; the law is rather vague about the instructional model itself. Funding is limited to costs above the average per-pupil costs for the district. The local district must provide a bilingual program out of local funds, for which it is reimbursed by the state.

As bilingual education grows increasingly legitimate, the trend to state bilingual education is likely to continue. However, the existing state mandates typically require transition programs, and only in the early primary grades. The result has been similar to that of the OCR compliance enforcement: the dilution of many existing Title VII projects.

Another troubling aspect of state legislation that is shared with the OCR is that enforcement is not uniform. Some states have mandated bilingual education, but have not provided money for local classrooms; the SEAs are reluctant to press sanctions when school districts claim lack of funds. As districts become aware that this is the case, they exercise more resistance.

LOCAL POLICIES

The LEAs have a number of policy levers they can use to facilitate or impede bilingual programs. Perhaps the most important is allowing or encouraging local discretionary funds to be used to support or supplement bilingual programs above the amount provided by state or federal funds or local per-pupil expenditures. Some local funding is part of the funding package for many programs, although generally the LEAs have avoided assuming full funding responsibility.

Another lever is a statement of district policy in support of bilingual education. A number of local actors feel that a public stance in support of bilingual education will protect programs from the exigencies of changing funding situations and personnel. In a few cases, such policies have been pushed by local actors and resisted by school boards.

[2] J. C. Harder, "Adequacy and Equity in School Finance," *Compact*, Vol. 10, No. 2, Spring 1976, pp. 17-21.

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